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ABSTRACT

The resource book contains essays and ethnic vignettes to help teachers and teacher educators understand the diverse lifestyles, backgrounds, and attitudes of students and families in American society. The book provides background information for elementary and junior high activity units contained in SO 010 213. Part one contains four chapters which discuss multiculturalism, dangers of stereotyping, areas of possible conflict, and implications for the schools. The nine ethnic vignettes in part two explore each group's contributions to American culture and problems encountered by each minority group. Lifestyles and children's learning styles in different cultures are also described in order to help teachers work more effectively with minority group students. The nine groups are Black Americans, Chinese Americans, East European Americans, American Indians, Italian Americans, Japanese Americans, Jewish Americans, Mexican Americans, and Puerto Ricans. Part three, a concluding chapter, explains the teacher's role in achieving multicultural understanding. (Author/AV)

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IN PRAISE OF DIVERSITY: A RESOURCE BOOK FOR MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

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Acknowledgments

This volume was undertaken in order to provide in brief form a volume on America's pluralism for educational personnel, both those in service and those preparing to teach. The immediate charge for this volume came from leaders in the Teacher Corps who had a highly pragmatic concern since the Corps has a Congressional mandate to prepare and to reeducate teachers for children of the poor — those who are most affected by the monocultural view of America which refuses to recognize America's diversity. The editors of this volume are grateful to William L. Smith, James Steffensen and Beryl Nelson in the Teacher Corps national office for initiating this project and giving it their support throughout.

To some extent this volume is an outcome of the Teacher Corps Members Training Institutes of 1975 and 1976 where the effort to implement multicultural education was limited by the scarcity of relevant materials in useful form. Floyd Waterman of the University of Nebraska at Omaha, director of the institutes, supported the proposal that a publication specifically targeted for teachers be produced. He has participated in decisions on the content to be included. In like manner, Paul Collins, Executive Secretary of the New York State Teacher Corps Network, contributed to decisions affecting publication of the book and its contents.

In order to obtain the most authentic treatment possible of each ethnic group included in this volume, a Panel of Consultants was named at the outset. The editors wish to express their thanks to the Panel for sharing in identification of writers, for reading the ethnic articles contributed, and for making invaluable suggestions on articles describing all ethnic groups. Under the chairmanship of Harry N. Rivlin, the Panel included Richard Gambino, Geneva Gay, Nathan Glazer, Thomas B. Lee, Patricia Locke, Jodi Murata, Michael Novak, Carmen Rodriguez, and Arthur Tenorio.

Finally, articles were sent to additional readers to secure their reaction to the articles in terms of fairness, accuracy and acceptability to the group described. The editors wish to express their thanks to Evelyn Blanchard, Josue Gonzalez, Ta-ling Lee, Irving Levine,

Leonard P. Liggio, K. Patrick Okura, Madelon D. Stent, and Paul Wrobel. The editors have made good use of their recommendations and are grateful for them. Responsibility for the contents of the articles, however, remains with the authors and editors of this volume.

Acknowledgment also is made to Maurice Basseches who served as consultant for the volume and was responsible for manifold publication procedures ranging from first drafts through final editing, design, and printing production.

Preface

I hear America singing, its varied carols I hear.

Walt Whitman heard the diverse strains of America's cultural symphony and celebrated the wonderful richness that springs from difference. How long will it take the rest of the nation to recognize and accept the pluralism that marks our culture, to tolerate difference, and to prize the value and potential of diversity!

A challenge confronts us all — to throw off the monoculturalism that has oppressed us all, majority and minorities alike, and to find instead a new respect for the many heritages which feed America's culture. First to tolerate, then to respect, and ultimately to *prize* and use the differences that to so great a degree and for so long have been swept under the rug and ignored!

For to the extent to which our minority cultures have been ignored, they have been implicitly demeaned. New emphasis on cultural pluralism says "Yes" to the heritages of Southern and Eastern Europe as well as to our Anglo-Saxon forebears; says "Yes" to Black men and women who were brought here in chains but who now strive to express their distinctive culture; says "Yes" to Irish Catholics and Jews whose religion was misused by monoculturalists to prevent their entry into a new society and to impede the contributions they were to make to the country as a whole; says "Yes" to American Indians whose culture was ruthlessly suppressed when instead it might have enriched the white man's world; says "Yes" to Spanish-speaking peoples who suffered from exclusion while still they offered the gifts of their heritage to the other inhabitants of this land.

Teacher Corps was established in 1966 in order to improve the educational opportunities of poor children in urban and rural areas by preparing teachers who would have specific training and a special commitment to improving the cause of these children in school. Like other programs fighting the implications of poverty, Teacher Corps came into immediate contact with America's minorities, so many of whom live below the poverty level, a consequence of prejudice, racism, discrimination, and our failure as a nation to realize fully the potential wealth that lies in diversity.

Because of the close connection between poverty and minority-group membership, Teacher Corps realized early in its history an

obligation to help build respect for diversity in our nation's schools. This respect for diversity is fundamental, for without it all those who are "different" are excluded from full participation in our society. First, Teacher Corps gave recognition to proposals that addressed their programs to minority children and their problems; then it encouraged such proposals; and, finally, it *required* that multicultural education be part of any programs which it would fund.

Meanwhile, in Teacher Corps as in the country at large, the recognition grew that the problem was not that of a specific minority group alone; the problem belonged to the whole country. Dominant groups as well as minority groups have to believe in the value of diversity if there is to be self-respect and respect for others as well — if all groups are to be invited to join in the mainstream of American life and culture.

In 1972 the United States Congress passed the Ethnic Heritage Studies Act, marking the first official recognition by Congress of the heterogeneity of America's population. Funds were appropriated for projects that would help develop better understanding by students of their own heritage and that of others as well.

A pluralistic society is totally compatible with America's highest ideals. To the extent that pluralism is realized, all people may retain a healthy ethnic pride, an abiding sense of their own culture and a respect for, and appreciation of, the people and individuals from ethnically and culturally different heritages. The fact that this condition has not been realized is painfully obvious.

One is often struck by the dichotomy found in some sections of our country where people from a majority culture may have positive attitudes toward an individual from another culture but express intolerance for that culture as a whole; or the converse dichotomy in other sections where some people from the dominant culture manifest the opposite position and accept another ethnic people as a group but reject them as individuals.

Our goal must be to develop commitment to the principle that to be different is not to be inferior, that one may be different and equal at the same time.

The reality of the situation is that many persons have until the present viewed our society as monocultural (or unicultural), and this perspective has created insensitivity to the many cultures which have built our nation and have so much still to offer. As a result, the contributions of many minorities have been treated as "non-facts," and these achievements have been excluded from most of our histories and textbooks. Cultural differences have been deemphasized in

the name of a narrow nationalism. Instead, the theme of the potential that springs from diversity might have been used as a stronger bond than does a spurious uniformity. As a result, there is an absence in our schools of an understanding of cultural pluralism, and there is a dearth of materials for use by teachers and students alike to build that understanding.

For these reasons, since the inauguration of national institutes for new interns in 1975, Teacher Corps has included emphasis on education which is multicultural in character. Because the search for materials to be used has uncovered an absence of appropriately targeted publications, the University of Nebraska is producing this volume and two companion volumes. The first is an annotated bibliography for the training of teachers who are seeking to make programs for their students more multicultural. The second presents suggested classroom activities in multicultural education. (For details, see page ii in this publication.)

The goal of this volume is to develop a respect for, and an appreciation of, diversity in order to stamp out the fears, prejudice and discrimination which stem from inadequate understanding of the positive values of difference, of diversity, and of pluralism.

William L. Smith
Director, Teacher Corps

Foreword

The unique diversity of our cultural heritage and background is slowly but surely being recognized as a valuable asset for our country, one to be cherished and shared. But the very richness and diversity of our heritage make it difficult for the classroom teacher or the college professor to acquire an understanding of the many groups who have contributed so much to the development of our nation.

The Association of Teacher Educators, an organization whose major goal is the improvement of teacher education at all levels, is constantly searching for new materials and new methods to aid the professional educator. Therefore, ATE takes great pride in presenting *In Praise of Diversity: A Resource Book for Multicultural Education.*

The writing team is a well-known, talented and experienced group of educators. The ethnic vignettes were prepared with both care and expertise. *In Praise of Diversity* is, in short, a document designed to provide significant background information about varied "typical" segments of our population. It is designed to help the beginning teacher, the experienced teacher, the college professor — in fact, any educator — to better understand the people with whom he or she works. The goal of *In Praise of Diversity* is, then, to help educators become more understanding and, thereby, more effective.

It is our sincere hope that the ultimate contribution of this document will be to enable the children and youth now in our schools to emerge with a greater understanding and appreciation of the true breadth and variety of our nation's cultural heritage than have any of their predecessors.

Robert J. Stevenson, *Executive Director*
Association of Teacher Educators

Part One

BASIC CONSIDERATIONS

This Book: Its Purposes and Contents

A new recognition of America's diversity and an awakened interest in the ethnic roots of its peoples have received widespread attention in recent years. Conceivably this awareness and interest spring from the urgent demands of minorities for acceptance and recognition; conceivably they also arise from a new focus on cultural backgrounds and social history. In any case, attention to the fundamental diversity that marks the American population is a welcome reversal of the time-honored view of the United States as a "melting pot" which was expected to mold all of our country's ethnic varieties into a single common amalgam.

Finally, the time has come to celebrate the diversity that characterizes a country in which some three hundred different native American Indian tribes were joined by numerous peoples from every continent and every country on this planet. Some came seeking freedom from want or oppression; some were brought here in chains as slaves. The time of arrival was equally varied, stretching over a period of three hundred years. The overwhelming feature was diversity, variety. It is high time for our schools to recognize this pluralism as a source of past, present and future richness and creativity rather than of possible division and conflict.

Celebration of America's diversity has not always been the case in our nation's history. Pressures toward conformity and fears of whatever was strange and different underlie a long and dreadful record of suppression of native and immigrant cultures by the dominant society. In this unfortunate process, much that could have been learned from a whole universe of diverse cultures has been lost.

At the present stage in America's growth, there is a new effort to "validate" — that is, to recognize and to prize — the full range of ethnic groups and cultures which have contributed and continue to contribute to our country's life and development. Yet, even in the present day, in some communities this effort runs counter to persisting discrimination, racism, and suppression of native American and immigrant cultures.

American schools are a primary agency of our nation's culture. Increasingly, they are being urged to develop a more pluralistic at-

titude with respect to the diversity that children bring to our classrooms. However, many teachers are themselves the products of an education and a society that refused to accept any variation from the predominant Anglo-American norms. Teachers, as well as those who are preparing to teach, are now being asked to "shift gears," to adjust to a new kind of world view and national view.

It is not difficult to convince America's teachers that pluralism rather than uniformity represents social reality in this country, although some teachers meet homogeneous classrooms, sometimes in rural areas, sometimes in suburbs, and sometimes in ethnic or racial enclaves in our cities. Yet teachers who are aware of the diversity of our population now seek elements which were omitted from their own education at all levels — specific information about America's pluralism, and professional skills and materials to move toward education which is truly multicultural.

This book addresses itself to those unmet needs. The introductory chapters look briefly at multiculturalism, at the dangers of stereotyping, at "pressure points" — areas of possible conflict and controversy — and at implications for the schools. The central section of "ethnic vignettes" endeavors to provide some basic information about nine minority groups selected because they typify in various ways all ethnic groups in the country and because they represent America's continuing dilemma of accommodating diverse ways of life within a unified social structure.

This ethnic vignette section describes the experiences in the United States of nine major ethnic or racial groups, both non-white and "white ethnics." These articles have been designed: (1) to develop an understanding of the cultural contributions of each group to the broader American culture; (2) to provide a picture of the diversity that characterizes America; (3) to present the problems that minority groups — both white and non-white — have experienced and continue to encounter; and (4) to sketch life-styles and children's learning styles in different cultures so as to help the teacher work with them more effectively.

The ethnic vignettes describe six non-white groups and three "white ethnic" groups. Racism unfortunately has played a devastating role in the history of the United States, from the conquest of American Indians to the enslavement of Blacks, discrimination against Hispanic Americans (in largest numbers, Mexican and Puerto Rican), exclusion of Asians, and internment of Japanese Americans during World War II.

It is not possible in a volume of this size to deal with all non-

white groups, nor even to give attention to the most recent arrivals, such as the Vietnamese, who are now retracing the history of other immigrant groups in America. The vignettes presented herein, however, should serve as a "type study" which readers can undertake for themselves of the diversity of Blacks coming to the United States from a variety of backgrounds in Africa and the Caribbean; of the variety of Spanish-speaking immigrants from South America, Central America and the Caribbean; of Asians coming not only from China and Japan but also from the Philippines, Samoa, Indonesia, Korea, Southeast Asia, India and the Middle East.

It is unfortunate that we cannot include many of these groups because they tell us that immigration is a continuing process, that adjusting to a new life still entails formidable problems, and that the reservoir of potential cultural contributions is never exhausted. This reservoir is a source for the never-ending self-renewal of our American culture.

Three white ethnic minority groups are included among the vignettes: Jewish, Italian and Eastern European. They have been selected because of their size in our population, their maintenance of a cultural identity, and their experiences with discrimination and prejudice. How many have been omitted!

America's "original settlers" — White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant — represent ethnicity as well as do the "minorities." Folkways, customs, language, religion, insularity, exclusion of others — these mark "dominant" groups as well as minorities, but because they are the "accepted" pattern, they often are taken for granted and the *ethnicity* involved is overlooked.

Add to these many early American immigrant groups — Germans, Dutch, French, Scandinavian — with varying degrees of assimilation and absorption into a common American culture. Consider also the Irish, some of whom are totally absorbed, some of whom maintain a militant sense of identity.

Finally, apart from the cultural injustice of lumping together all of the East Europeans, reflect on our omission of large numbers of recent immigrants from Greece, the Balkans and Turkey. These are groups which the teacher may have represented in a classroom, as well as the nine groups that are described in this volume. Material on the ethnic groups not included in these pages may be found in other sources — or represent a challenge for the research and descriptive abilities of teachers and children working together to write their own ethnic articles.

Developing an appreciation of *all* of America's ethnic groups

presents more of a problem for the teacher who works in a homogeneous setting, whether of totally assimilated "old-line" stock or of an ethnic enclave. The need may be greater here than in a heterogeneous classroom because of the lack of firsthand experience with other ethnic groups. Yet without an understanding of America's pluralism, students are not equipped to appreciate America's sources of strength or to deal with its problems.

In respect to the rich diversity of America's origins, this is a very small book. It is intended as a beginning. A separately printed bibliography supplements this volume as a source book for other learning activities by teachers and students alike. Readers are invited to turn to that booklet for annotated references at different maturity levels indicating the contents of these sources and their usability for specified learning activities. (For details, see page ii.)

Two articles in this volume, "The Teacher and Multicultural Education" and "In Praise of Diversity: Some Implications", suggest several classroom applications of the material presented herein. A separately published volume, *In Praise of Diversity: Multicultural Classroom Applications* edited by Gloria Grant, offers a wide variety of activities that teachers may use with their students or adapt to their own needs. (See page ii.)

In his poem "Dover Beach" Matthew Arnold referred despairingly to "this world which lies before us like a land of dreams: so various, so beautiful, so new." It is our hope that creative utilization by America's teachers of the cultural wealth in our nation's diversity can indeed bring into full flower here a land that is *various, beautiful,* and *forever renewed.*

Milton J. Gold
Carl A. Grant
Harry N. Rivlin

Ethnic Labeling and Mislabeling

By Harry N. Rivlin and Dorothy M. Fraser

Everyone knows that there are laws and regulations against mislabeling canned goods. The weight of the contents of a can of food and the ingredients the can contains must be stated on its label.

Don't we also need ethnic "laws" against mislabeling people? Especially the children in our schools?

For many years, effective teachers have studied their pupils to identify the particular characteristics of each one — i.e., their "individual differences." They have done this in order to plan for varied activities and materials to include some that would be suitable for each child in the class. Teachers examine basic data about such factors as the pupil's health, stage of maturation, intelligence quotient, reading level, scores on achievement tests, major interests, and family background.

There is, however, a basic inadequacy in using studies of individual psychology as the sole basis for developing teaching strategies. Psychological and sociological research are demonstrating that learning is an aspect of social psychology rather than of only the individual's psychology. In a sense, every classroom in the country is crowded because each child brings not only himself but also his friends, his family, his community, and the culture into which he has been born and is being raised.

Teachers already have taken a giant step forward when they realize that a child's coming from a cultural background different from that of the teacher, or from that of most of the other children in the class, is not automatically a handicap. Fortunately, the expression *culturally disadvantaged* that was used so commonly only a decade or two ago is hardly ever heard today.

HARRY N. RIVLIN *is Dean Emeritus and Professor of Urban Education at Fordham University's Graduate School of Education. As Director of the Leadership Training Institute for the United States Office of Education program, Training the Teacher Trainers, he helped the various TTT programs to focus attention on multicultural education, culminating in the book* Cultural Pluralism in Education: A Mandate for Change *(Appleton-Century-Crofts,*

Pupils from other cultures bring customs and values that can enrich our own. We should appreciate the humanistic orientation of a Chicano who judges a man by the way he treats other people rather than by his wealth. We have to understand the absence from school of a minority ethnic child whose working parents had him stay home from school to take care of a younger sibling. Is this pupil just another truant or are there differences in values to be discussed? These days, when we wonder whether the structure of the American family seems so often to be deteriorating, we have much to learn from other ethnic cultures in which parents and grandparents are held in great respect.

The cultural values and customs of another ethnic group may be different from our own without necessarily being either superior or inferior to ours. It is not the responsibility of teachers to evaluate other cultures, but to understand them so that they may better understand and teach the children coming from those ethnic groups.

Yet even here we must express a caution. Although the last few paragraphs may make sense, they also illustrate the common fallacy of thinking of various cultures as though all of the members of that group are alike in their values and in their adherence to the customs and values of that group.

In recent decades, sociological and psychological research have revealed how important socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds are as influences on a child's learning. Studies of the traditions and life-styles of various ethnic groups in our heterogeneous society have provided significant clues for understanding a child's motivations, interests, and behavior patterns in the light of his cultural background. A wealth of information of this kind is now available (for example, *Materials and Human Resources for Teaching Ethnic Studies*. Boulder, Co.: Social Science Education Consortium, 1975).

Such information can help teachers take off the cultural blinders that all of us inevitably wear if we are ill-informed about ethnic groups other than our own. It can free our minds of widely-circulated

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1973). Presently he is the Director of the Multicultural Component of the New York State Teacher Corps Network.

DOROTHY M. FRASER *was the professional Assistant to the Director of the Leadership Training Institute for Training the Teacher Trainers. She has been a social studies specialist in the U.S. Office of Education and is a past president of the National Council for the Social Studies. She is a professor emeritus at Hunter College where she served as Coordinator of Social Sciences in the Teacher Education Program.*

stereotypes which have denigrated particular ethnic groups as shiftless, or stupid, or lawless, or without merit in other respects. Erroneous labels or stereotypes such as these have done irreparable damage to generations of children and adults in our society. If we can get rid of such stereotypes, we will have taken a giant step forward.

However, as scholars draw together authentic information about the various cultural groups in our nation, it is essential to remember that the resulting pictures are perforce highly generalized. Data about thousands or even millions of specific situations must be pulled together. Outstanding values, customs, traditions, and other characteristics of an ethnic group are, therefore, often described in summary fashion. We may begin to think in terms of a *typical* Asian American, or Puerto Rican, or Black, when there really are no single individuals who can be considered typical of a whole culture.

There is danger that new labels will be used — labels that are possibly more valid and more appropriate than those based on the prejudices of the past — but that nevertheless are correct only in a generalized sense. Uncritical use of such labels as a basis for working with pupils of a particular ethnic group will mislead the best-intentioned teacher. Some teachers may feel sophisticated when they speak of knowing how to teach Black or Slavic children, when in truth they are simply thinking in terms of stereotypes.

When we speak of Blacks, for example, are we thinking of Southern Blacks who have moved to the North? of Blacks in our Northern ghettos who are trying to move into the mainstream of American life? of Blacks recently arrived from Africa? or of Blacks from the Caribbean islands? Not all Southern Blacks are displaced share croppers. Some are former school superintendents, principals and teachers who knew their professional status would have to be sacrificed if integration were to come to their schools, and yet fought for integrated schools. Even speaking of Caribbeans as a group is too vague, for few people know that the Caribbean Federation failed because the Trinidados, for example, thought they were so different from the inhabitants of the other Caribbean islands.

The Problem of Ethnic Classification

Taking an ethnic census contributes to the use of labels that may mislead. Consider for a moment some of the other broad groupings that have been used in the collection of data about the student population of some large school systems.

Spanish surnamed, for example, is a recognized category. It includes such disparate groups as Puerto Rican, Mexican American, and Cuban children, as well as those from Venezuela, Colombia, and other Latin-American countries. Even Sephardic Jewish children, whose names reflect the sojourn of their ancestors in Spain many centuries ago, may be counted in the *Spanish surnamed* group despite the marked differences in religion, language, and many aspects of culture from others also classified as *Spanish surnamed*.

Again, *American Indian* is a classification which includes more than 300 separate tribal groups. From one to another, these groups differ enormously in language, tradition, political organization, and social structure. Even within one tribe, such as the Hopi, there are traditional communities that reject many accommodations to twentieth century America that have been accepted by other, less conservative communities located only a few miles away. And there are the native American Indians of many tribes who have left their reservations to work and live in urban areas. Yet the label for all reads *American Indian*.

For a final example, think of *Asian Americans*. This category includes children whose ancestors came from China, Japan, Korea, India, the Philippines, or one of the countries of Southeast Asia. No matter that there are huge contrasts in the history, religion, governmental organization, social traditions and life-style of the peoples of these nations — and of groups within each nation. Yet, in classifying the children in our schools, all are given the label of *Asian American*.

Looking Under the Ethnic Label

Of course, a system of classification must be simplified into broad categories to be manageable in collecting and organizing enormous amounts of data. To be sure, no qualified scholar whose lifework is the study of a particular ethnic or cultural group is misled by these broad categories. But the problem of mislabeling because of over-generalization must be dealt with by teachers who seek to understand their pupils in the light of their ethnic backgrounds. A first step is to become aware of labels that hide as much or more than they reveal. Then, one must consider a range of factors that contribute to a particular child's sense of ethnicity and so to his individuality.

Within every ethnic group there are wide-ranging differences that have arisen from many interrelated factors. Some are socioeconomic in nature. Others have to do with variations in the traditions of subgroups within the larger ethnic cluster, or may be

related to how many generations the family has been in the United States, and the circumstances of its arrival and first settlement.

Let us return to the example of the *Spanish surnamed* category which is used in classifying children by their ethnic origins. We have noted above the many and varied groups that are included in this category. Clearly, to look under the broad label of *Spanish surnamed* we must find out whether the child's family background is Puerto Rican, or Chicano, or Cuban, or is derived from still another branch of Hispanic culture.

Those who have come to the United States, moreover, may not be typical of the population of the land from which they have come. The Cubans who came to the United States as soon as they could get away from Castro's Cuba were more likely to be middle-class business and professional people who stood to lose much from revolutionary changes rather than to be impoverished Cubans to whom Castro seemed to offer new hope and new opportunity. By contrast, those who moved from Puerto Rico to the mainland — they were not immigrants because Puerto Ricans are American citizens — were more often, but not always, the poorer ones who saw the mainland as a source of better jobs and a higher standard of living.

The Cuban exiles, moreover, knew that they could not return to Cuba while Castro was in power. On the other hand, Puerto Ricans who move to the mainland know how easy it is to return to their old home for a visit or to remain there whenever they think they will be better off in Puerto Rico — and many do go back.

How much do teachers gain in understanding a child when they lump all Puerto Rican and Cuban children into the single category of *Spanish surnamed* and then also include Mexican Americans and Latin Americans in the same category?

Having determined that Maria, one of our pupils, is of Puerto Rican ancestry, we have a more definite idea about where to begin in understanding her ethnic background. But — Is there a single model of "Puerto Rican-ness"? Fitzpatrick and Travieso, in discussing Puerto Ricans in this volume, point, for example, to the greater difference that skin color makes to Puerto Ricans on the mainland than it does in Puerto Rico. Do *all* Puerto Rican families conform to a definite pattern with regard to the roles of family members and religious practices? Will *all* children of Puerto Rican ancestry react in the same way in a given situation? The answer obviously is "No." We must learn much more about Maria's specific experiences and those of her family in order to gauge the impact of her ethnicity on her reactions in school.

We must never forget, either, that Maria is not only of Puerto Rican background, but she is also an eleven-year-old fifth grader. She is, thus, both a child and a Puerto Rican. We can expect, therefore, that she will sometimes act as a child, as all children do, and sometimes will reveal her Puerto Rican culture as she responds in ways typical of many Puerto Ricans.

The picture will become even more complex a few years later when Maria is a sixteen-year-old adolescent high school student. Then, she will be torn between following the example of her adolescent classmates, for instance so far as dating is concerned, and living up to the wishes of a family that still looks askance at having sixteen-year-old girls going off on dates unescorted by a responsible adult. As an adolescent, moreover, Maria is not in a transition stage between childhood and maturity but is both child and adult at the same time, sometimes wanting both the freedeom of an adult to do as one pleases and also the protection of her family that a child expects.

While knowing something about the culture of Puerto Ricans, and the hopes, fears, and problems of Puerto Rican families living in the United States helps the teacher understand why Maria acts as she does, any teacher who labels Maria as a Puerto Rican and lets it go at that, is far from knowing how to deal with Maria as a student or as a person in her own right.

Rich, Poor, and In-Between

To avoid ethnic mislabeling we must recognize that social-class differences exist within every ethnic group. There are upper-class, middle-class and lower-class Japanese Americans, Blacks, Jews, Chicanos, Italian Americans, and so on through the roster of ethnic groups.

Regardless of ethnic origin, every individual reflects in his or her life-style the socioeconomic class of which the person is a part. This is not to say that all lower-class, upper-class, or middle-class persons are carbon copies of one another — but it is to recognize the influence of social class on the individual.

If, for example, we consider Coretta King, Andrew Young, Bayard Rustin, and Barbara Jordan, we must be aware that each has her or his own distinctive life-style but that each follows a pattern of living quite different from that of a day worker living in one of America's Black ghettos.

The children of a Chinese American, or Puerto Rican, or Polish

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American college professor undoubtedly have a different life experience from those of the same ethnic group whose family is below the national average in income, educational level, and other factors that go into social-class identification. Indeed, daily life in a middle-class Black family may bear more resemblance to that of a middle-class family of Italian American, Chicano, or WASP ancestry than to the life-style of a poor Black family. How many teachers realize, for example, that more than 10,000 Black children in Washington, D.C. attend private schools and do not enroll in the public schools?

One part of looking beneath a child's ethnic label, therefore, is to learn about his socioeconomic background. A middle-class setting is likely — but not guaranteed — to mean that the pupil has had broader and more varied experiences, such as travel, exposure to magazines and books, attendance at concerts and visits to museums, than if he came from a lower-class background. He is likely to be more accepting of school tasks and more highly motivated to do well at them. His social attitudes and vocational aspirations probably will be influenced to a considerable degree by the socioeconomic milieu in which he lives.

Much is being said these days about the sub-culture of poverty. Being continually hungry is debilitating, regardless of ethnic background. Being unemployed is psychologically as well as economically threatening, especially in a culture like ours that answers the question of what a person is worth in terms of dollars.

Unfortunately, most of the minority ethnic groups discussed in this book know at firsthand what it means to be poor and to be discriminated against in the search for jobs and desirable housing. All too often, the differences in learning or behavior between the white middle class and the various other ethnic groups, regardless of whether the ethnic group is numerically a minority or a majority, can be explained more accurately as resulting from differences in socioeconomic level than from differences in cultural values.

Regardless of ethnic background, it is difficult for a student to concentrate on Gresham's or Keynes' theories of money when there was no money at home that morning to pay the rent. Why should an adolescent worry about staying in high school when he sees how many high-school graduates in the neighborhood are either unemployed or are holding jobs that are unrewarding economically, socially, and personally?

Even so, we should not use *poor* as another stereotype. There is a world of difference between the kind of poverty referred to by the humorist Sam Levenson — who said of his family, "We weren't poor;

we just didn't have any money." — and that of another family which sees itself as not only poor but also as helpless and hopeless.

Variations within Cultural Groups

Each ethnic group has important traditions that mark its cultural identity. As will be seen in the succeeding articles in this volume, many elements are involved. They include language, religious beliefs and practices, family structures and roles of family members, forms of artistic expression, and dietary customs.

Within each ethnic complex, however, there are variations of these cultural elements from one subgroup to another. Some of these variations may be traced to contrasting conditions and customs in different regions of the homeland of the family's forebears. In the enormous land area of China, for example, there are contrasts between the people living north of the Yangtze River and those of the southeastern regions in physical appearance and in aspects of daily life, such as dietary habits. Chinese Americans whose progenitors lived in northern China and those whose forefathers came from southeastern China may reflect those differences. There also are marked differences in values and behavior between the Chinese immigrants of past years and the more recent Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong.

Some variations may be the result of differences between rural and urban life in the land of origin — the peasant from southern Italy brought different cultural values and customs to his new homeland than did the immigrant from an urban commercial-industrial setting in northern Italy. The members of a particular ethnic group do not all follow the same religion nor worship in the same manner, even in cases where one church dominated in the original homeland. Orthodox Jews in the United States, for example, follow a life-style that is different in many ways from that of members of Reform or Conservative Jewish congregations.

Yet another element we must think of in order to understand the meaning of children's cultural backgrounds is the depth of their identification with their particular ethnic group. A child whose family is the only Slavic or Black or Italian family in the neighborhood or is one of the few families of that background, experiences a different world from one who lives in an ethnic enclave where contacts are almost exclusively with members of the same cultural group.

How long the family has been in the United States may have considerable bearing on the degree and nature of a child's ethnic awareness. The Japanese Americans even use different names to de-

signate the various generations. The first generation of immigrants in this country is referred to as *Issei*; the second generation, as *Nisei*; and the third generation as *Sansei*.

Among the ethnic groups which made up the late 19th and early 20th century wave of immigration from southern and eastern Europe, members of the second generation often rejected their ethnic identity, sometimes as a response to the discrimination they encountered here and sometimes out of enthusiasm for their newly-chosen land. Change of name, refusal to speak the language of their parents, and breaking away from traditional customs were among the forms this rejection took. As their children and grandchildren have moved into the mainstream of American life, however, there often has been a renewal of ethnic identification among members of the third and fourth generations. Many take pride in their traditional heritage and search for roots in the culture of their ancestors.

We must not assume, moreover, that the process of shedding old customs to become "like all the other Americans" is a continuous process. It often happens that first-generation immigrants are encouraged by their children to dispose of all the old-fashioned things they had brought with them from their old home. The third generation, interested in their ethnic heritage, may then buy back from antique dealers at much higher prices what their parents and grandparents had disposed of as junk. Similarly, many members of the second, third, and fourth generations often show greater interest in the old customs and traditions than did the original arrivals here or their children.

Among non-whites, whose physical appearance establishes their ethnic group for all to see, there are varying reactions to their own ethnicity. "Black (or Brown, or Red, or Yellow) is beautiful" is felt deeply by some, and not at all by others. One cannot generalize about the degree to which a non-white child accepts his or her ethnicity any more than one can assume that all white children feel the same degree of identification with their particular ancestral group.

We must also recognize that many individuals in contemporary America have little or no sense of their own ethnicity. They simply are not aware of it. Such lack of conscious ethnic identification probably is most common among people whose ancestors came early to the American scene, but it is not limited to them.

For example, not all third- and fourth-generation Americans are seeking out their cultural beginnings. While they may no longer harbor the overtly negative reactions of their second-generation pa-

rents or grandparents, they simply are not aware of nor concerned about their own ethnicity.

We can smile tolerantly at the ten-year-old boy who says, "Girls are all alike," and decides not to have anything more to do with any of them from now on. We know that he will change his mind and act differently as he matures. We cannot afford, however, to be equally unmoved by teachers who say, "All Blacks are alike," or, "All Chicanos are alike."

Stereotypes are harmful regardless of whether the stereotype is favorable to the group or insulting. We recognize as bigoted such generalizations as that, "Blacks are lazy," "American Indians all are drunks," and that, "Orientals are sly," although some of them are, as are some members of all other ethnic groups. A supposedly complimentary stereotype also may be misleading, such as is expressed when we say that Blacks have a natural sense of rhythm or that American Indians are good with their hands and are natural-born artists.

It is as unrealistic to up-date Rousseau's picture of "the noble savage" and expect every member of a minority ethnic group to be a paragon of virtue as it is to assume that none of them can ever succeed in our often too-competitive world. People are people, and people from all ethnic groups vary considerably among themselves.

Why should we be shocked when some members of a minority group who are elected to the legislature prove to be demagogues and some prove to be statesmen? Does one have to be a middle-class white in order to be a demagogue? Similarly, why should we be surprised to see some poor minority adolescents fight against many social and economic obstacles, work their way through high school and college, and attain success as adolescents and as adults? Are only white middle-class adolescents ambitious and conscientious?

Labeling Also Can Be Useful

Labeling can be beneficial if it is used to start a series of interrogative rather than declarative sentences. The teacher who starts by saying, "This girl is Oriental and that boy is Chicano," is probably wrong if the next sentence is a declarative one such as, "Therefore, she is . . ." or, "Therefore, he will do . . ." There is more likely to be a positive result if, instead, the teacher then asks, "How can I get to know her better?" or "How can I use his background to enrich the other children in the class?"

Labeling can be useful if the teacher labels the child as "child" and realizes that all children have much the same emotional needs, even when they vary in the ways in which those needs are satisfied. Thus, all children want to know that they are accepted as people and are not ridiculed, either publicly or privately. They all want to feel the thrill of success, even though they may vary in the degree to which they want this success to be acknowledged publicly. They all want to know that the teacher respects them and their family and they are all pleased by the teacher's attempts to know more about them, provided, of course, that the teacher does so out of obvious interest rather than as a surprised reaction to a cultural oddity.

Preparing to Teach Children of Other Ethnic Groups

Teachers can never be adequately prepared in advance to teach the children of all the ethnic groups they may meet in the course of a rich professional career. Teachers are mobile and pupils are mobile. In one school, for example, where the experienced teachers had learned to understand the cultural background of the Black students who filled the school, the faculty found that their classes now included many Haitian children, who spoke a different language and had different customs.

The interested teacher can learn much about the cultural characteristics of whatever ethnic groups are represented in his class. This book deals with many of the large ethnic groups in America, and there are other sources to which teachers may turn for information about almost every ethnic group to be found in American schools.

Though the information which a teacher learns about one ethnic group is ordinarily not readily transferable to other groups, the attitudes with which a teacher approaches one group can be generalized to apply to other groups. In general, the approach to another culture is either a positive one of willingness to accept what is different or a negative one of conscious or unconscious fear and rejection.

Virtually every ethnic group that has migrated to America has had to contend with prejudice and discrimination as its members struggled for survival. The compassionate teacher understands the problems of children with a cultural background different from the teacher's and possibly different, too, from that of the other members of the class.

No child should have to feel that he must reject his parents' culture in order to be accepted. Indeed, his chances of adjusting

successfully to his school, to his community, and to the larger society are enhanced if he is not encumbered by feelings of shame and of inferiority because he was not born into a different family and a different culture. To speak of any child as "culturally disadvantaged" merely because of ethnic origin is damaging not only to the child but also to society, for it deprives the nation of the contribution that can be made by each of the many groups in our country.

While it surely helps teachers to understand and to work with children of diverse ethnic groups when teachers understand these groups, teachers should not forget that they teach *individuals* and not ethnic groups. Nor can teachers afford to ignore Kant's dictum: "So live as to treat every individual as an end in himself, not as a means to an end."

Pressure Points in Multicultural Education

By Milton J. Gold

In essence, multiculturalism equates with the respect shown to the varied cultures and ethnic groups which have built the United States and which continue today to contribute to its richness and diversity. At first glance, such a statement may appear to be obvious and easy to achieve. It becomes less so when we recognize that many Americans perceive our culture as homogeneous rather than pluralistic. Our schools, among other institutions, have long operated on the assumption that there is a single American culture.

The contrary concept of pluralism is winning increasing acceptance, but much remains to be done if respect and acceptance are to be accorded to all the peoples who have contributed diverse cultures to the American scene. We must be aware of the numerous points at which conflict and confrontation may emerge because they can frustrate efforts to implement a culturally pluralistic policy in school and society. Some of these pressure points are cultural, some political, some social in nature.

Cultural Pressure Points

1. Basic obstacles to the recognition of American pluralism are (a) the failure to recognize that the United States is not a homogeneous country and (b) the continuing misperception of the United States as an Anglo-Saxon country. England was the "mother country," the source of the new country's language, the home of most of the new settlers up to the middle of the 19th century, and the origin of initially adopted political institutions. Yet, even in Colonial days, the influence of American Indians and immigrants from Europe and Africa

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was felt as new political institutions were forged, as new religions were introduced, as the language was subtly altered, and as new ways of living developed.

New needs of a different country, new technology and the unprecedented transplantation of peoples from all over the globe produced in the 19th and 20th centuries still greater changes. These transformations built a new culture different from both its Anglo-Saxon and non-Anglo-Saxon origins. And because continuity is a yearning need for all people, these transformations were accompanied by the maintenance, parallel with the common culture, of numerous subcultures — ethnic, racial and religious in origin and nature.

A consequence of this misperception of the United States as a white Anglo-Saxon Protestant country is the illusion of the superiority of Anglo-Saxon elements in the culture and of the inferiority of all others — a sense that what is British and Protestant is native and natural, and that what is not is foreign and unnatural. In a sense, the dominant culture regards descendants of Anglo-Saxon immigrants as the hosts and all others only as guests in this country, sometimes welcome, sometimes not welcome. What can schools do, what can the country as a whole do, to correct this misperception and to establish a true cultural equality of all groups in the United States?

2. Conventionally, intergroup education programs have placed their emphasis on the attitude of the white, middle-class teacher toward minority group children and their parents. This effort is desirable but not sufficient in itself. It is also of prime importance that minorities understand the values, behavior and culture of the majority culture. While we are eager to preserve the values of diversity, we also share in a common life, participate in a common economy, are involved with the same political, social, educational, and cultural institutions, and make use of the same public and health services.

It is important, too, that minorities understand and value each other. To do less is to invite a Balkanization of the diverse cultural groups within the country, to construct a new Tower of Babel. Too frequently minorities are arrayed against each other, fighting over the same inadequate jobs, housing and social services. Members of different minority groups must recognize the common interests and legitimate aspirations of each other.

3. Maintenance of each group's mother tongue is still another pressure point. Many individuals as immigrants have been willing to give up use of their native language in the process of acculturation — of adopting a new country, its new ways and its language, for reasons

of social adjustment and economic progress. Others have clung tenaciously to their language, seeing in it the primary carrier of a culture which they prize.

Prior to mass migration from Eastern and Southern Europe from 1880 to 1914, instruction in languages other than English was not uncommon in public schools attended by large numbers of immigrant children. In the period of great immigration, however, pressures toward "Americanization" mounted and English was mandated as the only language of instruction in many states and cities.

Concern with educational underachievement in the past decade has prompted development in schools of bilingual programs with two objectives: to enable a non-English-speaking child to learn in his parent language until he has mastered English, and to encourage the maintenance of the parent language and culture. Court decisions in the 1970's have gone beyond the mere encouragement of such programs and have mandated instruction in other languages in schools where there are concentrations of children who do not understand English. A corollary is the effort to help English-speaking students develop bilingualism and biculturalism vis-a-vis a neighborhood culture.

Pressures mount as misunderstandings arise concerning (a) handicapping the non-English-speaking child by slowing his progress in English, which is necessary for educational and economic achievement; (b) encouraging "un-Americanism" — that is, loyalty to another language and culture; and (c) using bilingualism as a screen to cover neglect of learning English. Judging the merits of introducing or maintaining bilingual programs is complicated because concerns other than the children's educational progress are intruded.

On one side there is the fear that loss of the mother tongue may accentuate the generation gap in the families of newcomers. On the other side is the fear that maintenance of the mother tongue will accentuate nationalist pride and will widen the gulf between minorities and the dominant culture.

Unsympathetic persons may view bilingual programs as a sign that the minority is getting too many "favors." Sometimes objections are expressed on "patriotic" grounds: "We had to learn English; why don't they?" Yet there is little disagreement over the fact that ability to speak English is an important part of the fight for jobs in a restricted job market.

A significant counterpart of bilingualism is bidialecticalism. Linguists have established the fact that Black English is not to be viewed as ungrammatical or inferior English, but that it reflects the

features of an independent dialect with its own grammatical structures and variations in vocabulary. Teachers who reject regional or ethnic dialects are seen by their students as rejecting them as persons, as rejecting their culture, or, in the popular phrase, as "putting them down." Teachers need to recognize the value of local dialects as the proper medium for communication in certain contexts, while helping students acquire standard American English for contacts with the broader culture.

It is the position of this article that bilingualism has a legitimacy both for the student who cannot yet function in English and for the student who is proficient in English but who wishes to preserve his linguistic and cultural heritage. However, a concurrent goal must be the establishment of competence in standard American English for economic adjustment, for educational achievement, and for communication in the broader social and political sphere.

4. Efforts to make education multicultural frequently put their emphasis on the past — on contributions already made by an ethnic group as a whole or by its celebrities, on its history in the country of origin. Certainly, knowledge of the past is necessary and desirable, but major attention must also be given to the contributions that now are being made and *can* be made by individuals of each group as their potential for enriching the American scene is recognized.

For example, one contribution that might be made and gratefully accepted lies in the more humanistic orientation that many ethnic minorities express in their daily living. The stress placed by American Indians on cooperation rather than competition — and interest in winning only if winning is not accomplished at another's expense — is one instance. Attitudes of many European and Oriental cultures toward older people, loyalty to the family, respect for nature in an ecological and also a religious sense: all of these represent contributions that can strengthen our country if the majority will pay heed to and respect the minorities.

The general theme is simple. Diversity offers a richer potential than does uniformity. By resisting pressures to conform and by working actively to maintain pluralism, we enrich our daily lives — in the variety of people we encounter, the cultures that enhance our society, the life-style we express, the foods we eat, the customs we observe, the leisure we enjoy, the sense of fellowship with an international community.

Political Pressure Points

1. Integration of schools and housing continues to be a major pressure point in the United States. Despite legislative action, discrimination and segregation persist in education, housing, employment, and social organizations whose impact may be economic as well as social. Some ethnic groups desire to maintain ethnic enclaves as a way of preserving their cultural identity and traditions, and they resist the entrance of newcomers who are seeking to break out of poor housing in slum conditions.

It is no accident that busing has become a major issue in public education. Busing *per se* has had a long and honorable history in American education, making it possible to transport children from remote areas to schools offering richer programs and wider personal contacts. Obviously, objections to busing are not on the issue of transportation or of neighborhood schools but on implementation of a national policy of school integration as decreed by the courts.

Opposition to school integration, as to integrated housing, arises from two quarters — from those with a positive purpose of maintaining the cultural identity of their neighborhood, but also from those with less worthy fears and prejudices, from negative stereotypes of the newcomers, especially if they are visibly different, non-white. It is necessary to distinguish the negative element of prejudice from the positive element of cultural identity.

It also is necessary to face openly those points at which pressure is brought upon oneself. There are many who advocate integration for others in remote places, but not when they themselves are affected. Parents who send their own children to private schools must be sensitive about advocating integration in the South Boston public schools. Similarly, suburbanites are on weak ground in criticizing city folk who oppose integrated housing, for example, in the Forest Hills section of New York City.

This article does not presume to offer any magic solution of integration problems. Like the purpose of this volume as a whole, our goal here is to help build a basis for constructive study of issues that should not be avoided or swept under the rug in a pluralistic society.

2. These issues arise because ethnicity is a powerful factor in our lives, and it is necessary to understand that ethnicity can be a force for good or evil. Ethnicity (the sense of identification with a group of people who are tied together by common geographical origin, language, religion, traditions, customs and history — or some combination of these elements) gives the individual a sense of identity, of

belonging, a cultural rootedness. It also can foster petty chauvinism and prejudice against other groups. Education is a key to the constructive use of ethnicity.

3. The concern over chauvinism (excessive pride in and allegiance to a cultural subgroup) leads to a perceived conflict between ethnicity and nationhood. Is the nation stronger if it aims at total assimilation of diverse groups and eventual development of a homogeneous culture? Or is it stronger if it encourages diversity while maintaining a common core that includes participation in political institutions, language, history, national traditions — while encouraging the maintenance of language, social institutions, and traditions of the subcultures?

The position of this article is that homogenization has been tried and does not work. Whether differentiation is forced upon a group as a result of prejudice, or whether individuals choose of their own free will to express their uniqueness, we have abundant evidence that membership in ethnic societies, eating ethnic foods, praying in ethnic houses of worship, living in ethnic neighborhoods will continue — and will continue in varying degrees as individuals choose different ways of expressing both their ethnic origin and their human individuality. Moreover, if it were possible to melt all cultures down to a homogeneous blend, there would be a tragic loss of the cultural contributions that come from maintaining the unique cultural contributions of the many different component parts.

However, this differentiation has not only a significance for the individual or for the particular ethnic group; it has meaning also for the larger American society. The argument in favor of cultural pluralism is an argument for heterogeneity. This is the conviction that in maintaining differences we create a richer reservoir of human potential than we do by forcing all groups into a single cultural mold. By continuing to draw on the strengths that come from a multiplicity of sources — American Indian, Black, European, and Asian, for example — we utilize the best that all humankind has been able to develop in human values and thought, the arts, sciences, farming, industry, and recreation. However, an overarching principle remains — that we retain the distinctiveness of these cultures without enforcing or encouraging isolation; that we implement our nation's motto, *e pluribus unum* — out of many, one.

4. A parallel to legal efforts to enforce integration is the current "affirmative action" program of governments in trying to ensure more equitable treatment of non-white minorities and women in employment and education. This effort has run afoul of those groups which

interpret affirmative action as the imposition of a quota system, a new form of the "numerus clausus" in European countries which at one time were used to restrict the opportunities of Jews in education and the professions.

Various values come into conflict here — the desire to compensate for disadvantages encountered by minorities in a competitive scheme; the desire to provide equal opportunity for equally qualified persons regardless of group identification; the desire to treat individuals as individuals and not as members of a group; the desire to use merit as a single criterion; the desire to define merit in a non-discriminatory way.

This conflict of values — of Right vs. Right — has become particularly apparent in education. In recent years, non-white minorities have begun to find places at last on school and college faculties. More lately, worsening economic conditions have forced reductions in educational staffs in many places. The principles of seniority and tenure have as a result come into conflict with the policy of minority employment because the "last hired, first fired" principle affects most seriously the minority groups which previously held few academic positions.

Right vs. wrong decisions are not always easy to make, but right vs. right choices are difficult indeed. These choices should not be made on the basis of simplistic arguments or slogans but rather on commitments to policies one affirms. Each person has to make his or her own choice and commitment.

5. Both the integration and affirmative action issues raise questions because of the uneven legitimization of minority groups in recent years. When 140,000,000 Americans viewed Alex Haley's *Roots* on television in the winter of 1977, they saw remarkable evidence of a new acceptance of Black people and their culture by the media.

One swallow does not make a summer. Blacks continue to be portrayed via demeaning stereotypes, and other ethnic groups in the United States have yet to achieve even the limited recognition exemplified by *Roots*. Television and other media contine to ridicule or disparage Hispanics, Indians, Italians, Poles, and other groups. Negative stereotypes continue to abound.

Nor is the problem limited to the entertainment media. Members of minority groups continue to attest to uneven treatment by authors and publishers of school textbooks and by Federal and state governments in the application of integration and affirmative action programs as they affect education, housing, welfare, and employment.

In these cases, persons believing in fairness must themselves exert pressure. Not only must they seek fair treatment for their own group but they cannot rest content so long as any group is maligned in the media or in popular folklore, legend or "comedy."

6. Schools do not operate in a vacuum but in a complex social context. An important part of the context is economic. Poverty keeps more people "in their place" than do racism and discrimination. Relationships among ethnic groups at the bottom of the economic ladder reflect a sad history of fighting over the crumbs left by longer established groups.

Culturally different people are not poor because of their ethnicity; they are poor because of limited opportunity to seek careers other than those in stereotyped and poorly-paid occupations. Schools have an opportunity to do something to improve the economic position of ethnic minorities. For example, they should be helping young people learn about careers for which their parents were not prepared or from which they were excluded. As yet another example, schools should underline the economic as well as the cultural significance of standard English, as indicated in our earlier discussion of bilingualism and bidialecticalism.

Schools aiming at a truly multicultural society have to take note of economic factors and social attitudes which affect the lives of their students. Yet they must recognize the pressures that build when the school tries to express values that are denied by the community. Positive multiculturalism within the school can have little effect unless it is part of a total commitment of the society — in the nation, in the state, in the neighborhood.

What part does the school play in affecting community and national attitudes and behavior? Does the school have a responsibility — does it have the resources? — to help build a social context which will make its educational efforts succeed by supporting its goals? These are considerations to which every worker in the educational vineyard must address himself.

Social Pressure Points

1. There is little question that ethnic, racial, and religious prejudices contine to exist despite a greater openness within the larger society. Archie Bunker is a popular figure on television not only because he is a comic character but also, unfortunately, because he reflects the prejudices of many of his viewers.

It is partly to combat prejudice and partly to foster a positive

view of pluralism that this volume has been prepared. Recent achievements of minorities and public expressions of increased tolerance should not obscure our awareness of persisting prejudice, discrimination, and racism.

2. Liberalized immigration laws have enabled many new immigrants to enter the country since 1965. Most of them come from countries which were discriminated against in post-World War I legislation — from Southern and Eastern Europe, the Far East, Latin America, and the Caribbean Islands.

Sometimes they represent different economic, social, and cultural backgrounds than do earlier immigrants from the same countries. They experience the problems that all other immigrants encountered. The need continues to assist and understand them; the opportunity exists to utilize the resources they bring if we are wise enough to recognize them.

In Conclusion

The final word in this article echoes our initial statement. *Respect* is the theme. The purpose of this volume is to help build respect, based on understanding, for the roots of all children — respect *for all*, for both the "stars" and the plain people who never are listed in *Who's Who*.

The Teacher and Multicultural Education: Some Personal Reflections

By Carl A. Grant

As teachers, we have been encouraged for years to identify and to meet each student's academic needs. Recently, an additional request has been made of us to make our instruction responsive to the racial and cultural backgrounds of the students in our classes. We also have been encouraged to use curricula and instructional materials that promote appreciation and acceptance of racial and cultural diversity. In short, whether we teach in a multicultural or monocultural school or classroom, it has been recommended that our instructional approach should have a pluralistic focus. Most of us, hopefully, have been willing to accept this recommendation because we recognize that education in a pluralistic society should foster an understanding and acceptance of cultural and racial diversity.

The school, and our instructional approach within the school context, must play a vital role in making "e pluribus unum" significant — a single society created out of many parts. But a recognition of the need for teaching awareness and acceptance of diversity does not insure certainty of direction or the absence of butterflies in one's stomach. Hopefully, however, any apparent uncertainty exists only as a result of our anxiety regarding what is expected of us and where and how to develop the necessary behavior and attitudes for teaching all children. For this reason, much of a teacher's anxiety may be eased by a discussion of three basic expectations for teachers who plan to apply the principles which affirm racial and cultural diversity in their classrooms and schools.

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The first expectation is that you and I — the teachers — understand ourselves. Knowledge of our personal feelings and attitudes is important in developing a positive self image. Educators have, for a long time, recognized that teacher self-understanding and self-awareness are vital for encouraging self-knowledge and self-acceptance in students. Teachers need to understand their own needs, anxieties, behavior, and attitudes, for until they do, they will not be able to recognize their own biases and will continue to transmit them to their students. This recognition is crucial for teachers working in either a monocultural or multicultural classroom because teachers often send out signals about how they feel about different people, regardless of whether these people are in the classroom or not. In short, how we act and how we teach may be more important than what we teach.

The second expectation is that the teacher develop an understanding and acceptance of the concept of pluralism. Pluralism has been defined as "a state of society in which members of diverse ethnic, racial, religious, or social groups maintain an autonomous participation in and development of their traditional culture or special interest within the confines of a common civilization" (*Webster's Dictionary*, 1971, p. 653). Cultural pluralism, then, is concerned with the relationship among various cultural groups and often is viewed as "peaceful coexistence" among groups. Cultural pluralism can be supported in the school environment when students from different racial and cultural backgrounds in our classes accept and affirm the cultural and racial differences of each class member. A multicultural classroom, however, is not the exclusive domain of cultural pluralism. It also can be fostered in a monocultural classroom if our students accept and affirm the cultural and racial diversity of American society. Regardless of the setting, the expectation for the teacher is to develop an understanding and acceptance of the concept of pluralism.

The third expectation is for teachers to affirm the principles of pluralism by implementing multicultural education in the total school environment. Multicultural education is predicated upon a fundamental belief that all people must be accorded respect, regardless of their social, ethnic, cultural, and religious backgrounds. It is manifested in an educational process that *neither* advocates nor tolerates the heating up of the old "melting pot" nor the creation of numerous "monocultural" educational programs.

Multicultural education values the concepts implied by cultural pluralism, multilingualism, cross-cultural studies, intercultural

studies, and inter-group and human relations, and includes the following features: (1) staffing patterns throughout institutional and organizational hierarchies which reflect the pluralistic nature of American society; (2) curricula that are appropriate, flexible, unbiased, and that incorporate the contributions of all cultural and racial groups; (3) affirmation of the languages of cultural groups as *different* rather than deficient; (4) instructional materials that are free of bias, omissions, and stereotypes; that are inclusive rather than supplementary; and that show individuals from different cultural and racial groups portraying the full range of occupational and social roles. Implicit in this statement is the demand for the evaluation of educational programs not only according to the content of the curricula and instructional materials, but also in relation to how successfully the experiences and materials help promote respect for all people.

In order to meet these expectations, it probably will be necessary for teachers to utilize a strategy for change or for re-education. Changing any of our racial and cultural beliefs and values that are not consistent with the goals of a pluralistic nation demands this re-education. Most of us were raised and taught to believe that a white, middle-class culture is the accepted norm for our society. Re-education is necessary to correct this false assumption and to encourage support for racial and cultural diversity. This change involves a process that utilizes inter-personal growth and problem-solving and requires individuals, as they explore and reformulate their values and attitudes, to participate in their re-education.

Re-education is not an easy task, and many who start the process will not continue it because of their reluctance, or fear, to challenge in depth the beliefs and attitudes that are reflected in their thoughts and behavior. Additionally, many of us prefer to spend our time exploring educational concepts that do not have as many emotional implications as does the examination of prejudice and racism. In the past, teachers have tended to redirect their attention away from program goals focusing on the examination of racial and cultural values to goals which are less threatening. Nevertheless, re-education in relation to our norms is necessary if we plan to make our classrooms and schools humanistic places for learning in which students, regardless of race, culture, class, and sex, will feel respected and accepted.

In order to fulfill these three basic expectations, a three-phase process for changing beliefs and attitudes with regard to cultural pluralism can be applied through teacher education — both pre-service and in-service. The three phases of this process may be outlined as follows: (1) awareness and recognition, (2) appreciation and

acceptance, and (3) affirmation (See "Suggested Additional Reading," Grant and Melnick, 1977).

Increasing Self-Awareness and Understanding

The first phase is designed to increase self-awareness and self-understanding for the teacher. This goal can be accomplished through an interactive dialogue/inquiry approach which sensitizes teachers to themselves and others, and sharpens their perceptions of reality. Too frequently, teachers are unaware of problems related to racial, cultural, and individual differences or even may deny their existence. According to Gordon Allport (*The Nature of Prejudice*, Doubleday, 1958) this denial takes two forms: for those in whom prejudice is deeply ingrained, the admission of such beliefs threatens to upset their equilibrium and to bring forth disturbing thoughts; and for those who are automatically habituated to the status quo, there is an assumption that the "prevailing system of caste and discrimination (is) . . . eternally fixed." Despite the fact that such confrontations with prejudice and discrimination are, at best, unsettling and difficult tasks, facing oneself is imperative for anyone who wants to work successfully with children. As Carl G. Jung (*The Undiscovered Self*, Little Brown, 1957) succinctly stated, "Each individual must come to terms with the negative side of the personality; otherwise this is inevitably projected on to the group."

Translated into specific objectives for pre-service and in-service education, then, this first phase should include, as a minimum, the following:

1. Clarification, analysis and assessment of the values, beliefs, norms, and standards held by each individual.
2. Analysis of the existence and concomitant dangers of self-denial, self-hatred, and cultural rejection by many racially, culturally, and individually different people.
3. Examination of racism, sexism, and classism in society.
4. Evaluation of the manner in which American institutions, and especially schools, perpetuate discrimination and prejudice.

If we are ever to implement multicultural curricula, awareness and recognition on the part of teachers must constitute the first step.

Appreciation and Acceptance of Differences

The second phase must promote appreciation and acceptance of

racial, cultural, and individual differences and of their right to exist. This phase involves the delivery of substantive and accurate information so that teachers can understand the various dimensions of all races, cultures, and individual differences. Through a variety of learning modes, both cognitive and interactive, pride in one's cultural heritage can be instilled, along with appreciation and acceptance of other cultures and races.

These modes should include the following: workshops, institutes, study groups, seminars, formal courses, and informal interaction. In addition, teacher center activities, curriculum and materials selection, and evaluation projects can aid teachers in acquiring historical, sociological, psychological, linguistic, political, and economic facts relevant for teaching in a pluralistic society. In order that they may grow to be supportive of a multilingual/multidialectal society, teachers should, for example, have access to substantive materials and activities that clearly demonstrate the distinction between linguistic differences and linguistic deficiencies. In addition, extensive experiences with materials and activities that point out and substantiate the contributions of all racial and cultural groups in this country should be available for teachers. Only through these, and similar, experiences can teachers begin to understand the absurdity of setting aside special times to give testimony to different cultures, for example, Black History Week, or the Chinese New Year. As a consequence, the necessity of incorporating pluralism into every facet of school life should be realized on a day-to-day basis.

Furthermore, teachers should engage in critical analyses of classroom instructional materials to become cognizant of the omissions, biases, and stereotypes that materials may overtly or covertly display. They also should learn to interpret test results in order to eliminate the frequent tendency to place individually and culturally different children into low-ability, or special, classes or groups. Through providing these kinds of learning experiences, teacher education can effectively succeed in developing in teachers both an appreciation and acceptance of America's pluralism.

Affirming Differences

The third phase in this process should provide teachers with a basis for affirming cultural, racial, and individual differences — in short, with the tools and skills to design, implement, and evaluate multicultural experiences they use in the classroom on a continuing basis. By regularly integrating activities and viewpoints consonant

with democratic ideals and American pluralism into the total school environment, teachers can truly begin to meet the needs of all children. Curricula, learning materials, and experiences should promote positive self-concepts, foster respect for all people, and encourage equitable educational opportunities for each child. As teachers, we have the responsibility and the opportunity to integrate into classroom activities the specific contributions to both national and international growth made by the culturally different, the handicapped, and women.

Cultural and racial affirmation also can be encouraged by incorporating children's cultural and individual experiences as living resources in the classroom and should concertedly involve community members and their wealth of resources in regular classroom activities. By developing and using culturally relevant curricula, activities, and materials, teachers can begin to promote the alternative life-styles and value orientations which should be accepted and encouraged in a pluralistic society.

If we are to realize these expectations — and *all* teachers should — it will require hard work and the ability to persevere when, for example, others around us ask, "Why are you knocking yourself out?" or, say "We don't need the concept of multicultural education here — it's not for us." Nevertheless, in spite of the hard work and the admonishment from our colleagues, we must remember that we entered this profession because of our regard for children and our belief that we can make a worthwhile contribution. No one said it would be easy. The decision is ours — yours and mine: Do we teach respect and acceptance of racially and culturally different people, or do we, consciously or unwittingly, perpetuate racism, sexism, and class bias?

SUGGESTED ADDITIONAL READING

Grant, Carl A., and Melnick, Susan L. "Multicultural Perspectives of Curriculum Development and Their Relationship to In-service Education," *Association of Teacher Educators Yearbook*, Ed. by Roy A. Edelfelt (Washington, D.C., 1977).

Part Two

ETHNIC VIGNETTES

THE BLACK AMERICANS: Their Presence in American Life and Culture

By Geneva Gay

Despite a wealth of sociological, anthropological, and historical data to the contrary, some people still believe (1) that Black Americans are "just Americans" without a discernible past beyond their arrival upon the American scene as slaves; and (2) that Blacks have no values and life-styles other than those they share with the "common American culture."

Many people refuse to acknowledge the fact that Blacks in the United States and in the other Americas share some common-core historical experiences and cultural patterns that continue to shape present-day life-styles. Still others forget that, in spite of overwhelming barriers and long standing discriminatory practices, Blacks have contributed to all phases of America's growth and development. Simultaneously, they have reshaped the heritages of their African origins and their peculiar American experiences in the intervening years between 1619 and the present into a distinctive life-style.

As has been the case with many other immigrants to America, Blacks did not completely leave their African origins behind when they departed from their homeland. Rather, they carried the memory and imprint of their heritage across successive generations in their songs, socialization processes, social behaviors, institutions, and value systems.

Black presence and influence in American culture have been consistent and persistent over the years. Whether in art, music, politics, science, economics, or literature; whether in colonial or contem-

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porary times; whether in servitude or in freedom; whether in times of peace or war; whether intellectually, aesthetically, or physically, Blacks have been influential in shaping American life and culture. The gifts of Black folk are unique in that their particular character has been shaped, sometimes subtly and sometimes overtly, by perspectives and experiences resulting from the interplay of their African heritage, the exigencies of human bondage, and the interactions of Blacks with other ethnic groups.

Over the more than 470 years since their initial arrival in the New World, Blacks have developed a wide range of alternative functional institutions and life-styles. These are still emerging, are continually evolving and are being revitalized by the persistence of many of the societal forces that stimulated their original inception. At the same time, while Blacks have been trying to become an integral part of the whole of American life, many have been unable to penetrate the innermost part of some institutions and have been forced to live apart from the dominant group in America.

They also have been compelled, repeatedly, to refurbish their hope in the American Dream, dulled often by the unfulfilled promises of their American experiences. These equally compelling, yet conflicting, impulses have forced many Blacks to fashion for themselves a duality of identity, as Americans and as Afro-Americans. These impulses also have led to the creation of value systems, behavioral patterns, and institutional structures that are sources of affirmation and validation for their sense of people-hood, and are a means of survival in the larger society that is often perceived to be hostile.

These cultural components are organized into somewhat differing holistic constructs or cultural entities across socio-economic and regional lines within the United States. Granted, different operational details and behavioral variations exist among Black Americans, but this does not invalidate the existence of an underlying unanimity of basic cultural components, which grew out of an essential core of consensus of shared experiences.

To fully comprehend the essence of Blacks' presence in the history and culture of the United States we need to examine both the enculturative* and the acculturative dimensions of Black life — that

*Enculturative: involving the entrenchment of African customs and the amalgamation of different African cultures as African immigrants from different countries and tribal groups interacted with each other in slave coffles, pens, and plantations. *Acculturative:* in which African ways were merged gradually with Anglo-Saxon customs and other European habits.

is, the results of the *pull* of the integrative forces and the *push* of the segregative forces operating upon Black Americans. To the extent that both of these elements are explored, a real understanding of what it means to be Black in America can be achieved. Then, and only then, can we begin to understand the diversity and similarities of Black Americans within the context of the ethnic and cultural plurality of the United States. We also can begin to ask some plausible questions about the possibility of cultural parallels between Blacks in the United States, the Caribbean and South America; the extent of African retentions in contemporary Black American life styles; and the variations in degrees of acculturation and assimilation among Blacks in the United States.

The purpose of this article is to provide a teacher with a conceptual context for understanding the nature and character of Black American culture in American society. The statement: "A people without a past — or a history — has no present or future" provides the philosophical framework for the development of the sub-topics that follow. It is imperative that we know something about their past if we are to understand Black Americans today.

Therefore, an historical socio-anthropological orientation is used to discuss the shaping and character of Black American culture, and to explain the impact of the Black presence upon the character, life, and culture of the United States. Their African origins, the immigration and adjustment of Blacks to American conditions, their cultural modifications, and the felt presence of Blacks in American history and culture, respectively, are discussed. Hopefully, this approach will provide teachers with a contextual framework for understanding, and engaging in further study of contemporary Black life styles, behaviors, and expectations.

African Origins

The first Black immigrants to America were far from being "simple," "naive," "childlike," or "uncivilized" people as they often have been portrayed. Nor were they "young" in the ways of civilization. They had experienced a rich history of social, cultural, economic, and political development that began long before many of the civilizations of Western Europe.

By 1441, when the Portuguese left West Africa with the first shipload of slaves, Africa already had seen the rise and fall of many great kingdoms. The earliest centers of African civilization included Kush (modern Northern Sudan) and Axum (modern Ethiopia) in East

Africa, the Bantu and Kongo Kingdoms in South and Southeast Africa, and Ghana, Mali, and Songhay in West Africa.

The latter kingdoms were located in that area of the continent which subsequently became the "slaving region" of European traders. These empires had reached their peaks and had begun to decline by the time the American colonies were beginning to be settled. Songhay, the last of the great West African kingdoms, ended in 1591, sixteen years before the founding of the first English-American colony at Jamestown, Virginia.

The African kingdoms of antiquity were responsible for some remarkable accomplishments in commerce, construction, agriculture, arts and crafts, and education. Blacks helped design and build some of the great Egyptian pyramids. They were among the world's first artists, ironmakers, weavers, and users of plants for medicinal and dietary purposes. Antar, the African poet, received acclaim as one of the greatest poets of antiquity. Africans developed well-built cities with great walls, palaces, and temples at Meroë, Kilwa, Zimbabwe, Mbanza Kongo, Kumbi, Gao, and Timbuku. These cities became centers of domestic and international activities and of exchange in culture, education, politics, business, and trade.

The first African immigrants to America were far from homogeneous. They came from different countries, tribal groups, and cultural backgrounds; spoke different languages and dialects; and reflected different aspects of the African worldview. Some were royalty, warriors, and statesmen, but most were average citizens, farmers, artisans, and craftsmen. Some were Muslims but most were ancestor- and nature-worshippers.

Some came from Northern, Eastern, and Central Africa but most came from the West coast. They had known complex social systems and political structures; they had experienced the social demands of accommodating different cultures and peoples encountered through war, trade and travel; and they had known of military conquest and enslavement. Initially, African immigrants came to the New World not as slaves but as crew members of Spanish and Portuguese expeditions and as indentured servants. They arrived in Latin America more than one hundred years before any slaves came to North America. Even the first twenty Africans who were imported to North America in 1619 were not referred to as "slaves." It was not until the 1640's that slavery began as a legal institution in the English colonies.

Despite the diversity among the original African immigrants, some commonalities and shared experiences existed among them. The focal point of their aboriginal life styles was the local community

organization, centered on a farming economy and an extended family structure. Within this structural framework, cooperation and mutual aid were prized; the wisdom, experience and authority of elders were revered; cultural values and traditions were transmitted through music, folklore and dance; priests and griots (oral historians) were the guardians and transmitters of tribal history and tradition; religion, arts, and crafts permeated and reflected everyday life activities; and an approach to life and living existed in which all people and things were intertwined to make for comprehensiveness, unity, and continuity.

These common cultural denominators allowed for a consensus of experiences among the first generations of African immigrants to the New World. They served as unifying forces that helped them endure their particular American experiences. They enabled Black immigrants in various parts of the New World to cooperate in creating new customs, traditions and values, which reflected their African origins and yet made them neither totally African nor fully American, but a combination of both. Thus was created the background for the birth of the Afro-American.

Responses to American Conditions Vary

Africans reacted to New World situations in different ways. Their reactions were a function of many interactive factors, including their particular African backgrounds, time of arrival, geographic location, organization and operation of the plantations on which they lived, the numerical ratio of Blacks to Whites, and the extent of contact between Blacks and Whites, and Blacks and Blacks. Undoubtedly, the first generation of Black immigrants felt more compelled to try to transplant African customs and traditions in America than did subsequent generations. After all, they had experienced Africa personally, and their memories and points of reference were alive with their past. They knew no other language, religion, or values. They were, indeed, transplanted Africans.

Although slavery in Latin America as an institution was no less dehumanizing, cruel, and immoral than in the United States, some conditions did exist which contributed to the creation of a sociopolitical climate generally more conducive to both the survival of African traditions — the enculturative process *and* the assimilation of Africans into European customs and culture — the acculturative process. Among these conditions were the concentration of large numbers of Blacks in the same area; the constant influx of other Blacks

directly from Africa, which contributed to the perpetuation and revitalization of African customs and traditions; the tendency to keep Black families together; the idea of the inferiority of Blacks was less pervasive; and many African descendants intermarried with Europeans and Indians (especially in Brazil).

Blacks in the United States did not assimilate into the structure of mainstream society to the extent their Latin-American counterparts did. Nor were African ways retained to the same degree of completeness and authenticity. However, in one sense, the acculturative process was equally operative. African immigrants in the United States meshed African and Anglo-Saxon behaviors, customs, and values together to create another distinctive cultural system. Opportunities for this process to operate were provided by the fact that there was more contact between Blacks and Whites, which increased Blacks' familiarity with Anglo-Saxon culture, and there were fewer chances for large numbers of Blacks to interact with each other, or with Africans directly from Africa. Most North American slaves spent some time in the West Indies being "seasoned" for life in the United States. Thus, the revitalization of African behavior by newcomers was less potent than in Latin America. Yet, the need for Blacks to develop alternative institutions and life-styles was even greater because of the degree to which they were discriminated against, and because of their being barred from entry into mainstream society and institutions.

With due respect to the different styles of cultural adaptations which emerged among different groups of Blacks in the New World, the same culturally-cultivating processes — enculturation and acculturation — took place simultaneously, albeit in varying degrees. Eventually, hybrid sets of customs, traditions, institutions, and even a language emerged from these cultural borrowings, interactions, and adaptations Thus, African immigrants and their descendants brought together cultural elements from many different sources — first, from their own original heritages, other African immigrants, the many different European ethnic groups; and, subsequently, from American Indians and Mexican immigrants. They combined, adapted, and restructured these cultural elements to accommodate their needs and conditions, and to complement their own customs. In so doing, they began to carve for themselves a new cultural system and a new identity. These formulations are still emerging and evolving, and the processes of cultural adaptation continue even today.

A Distinctive Cultural System Emerges

The development of alternative institutions and life-styles by Black Americans was necessitated by the fact that African ways could not be transplanted *and sustained* in their original form and functionality in the New World environment, and by the inaccessibility to them of mainstream institutions. Blacks, like all humans, are social beings. As such they need *functional* institutional structures and normative systems to regulate their lives, and to satisfy socio-psychological needs of identity, community, sense of history, communication, and personal integrity — that is, to affirm, to validate, and to perpetuate their humanness.

It was in obedience to this primordial law that African immigrants came together, by whatever expeditious means, initially to endure the harshness of their American exigencies, and eventually to develop an order and structure to life that would sustain their humanity. They created and institutionalized organized patterns of behavior for maintaining community standards; for dealing with oppression, exploitation, and discrimination; for articulating values and world views; for inducting new members into the community; for transmitting values and customs to successive generations; and for surviving in a larger society that, at worst, considered them chattel and, at best, as second-class citizens.

An overt dawning sense of peoplehood among Black immigrants in the United States began to surface in the mid-18th century. It was grounded in the external exigencies of being isolated from the rest of society and treated as inferior beings, and in the internal exigencies of the need to be together, to share experiences, to express a different worldview, and to develop strategies for achieving a better life. African origins and the experiences of slavery initially were the primary coalescing forces that drew Blacks together in a spirit of community and comradeship.

Throughout the course of American history these forces have been joined by others including racism, the regional influence of the Southern culture, emancipation and migration after the Civil War, and the continued existence of poverty that affect a large percentage of Black Americans. These factors have operated interactively to close to Blacks the institutions and channels of social-psychological maintenance sanctioned by mainstream society, and to give rise to the creation of alternative sets of institutions, values and expectations that constitute a distinctive Afro-American culture.

The formative experiences contributing to the shaping of Black

culture in the United States began to be crystalized into concrete values and institutions in the period extending from the middle of the 18th century to the middle of the 19th century. It was during this period that the pioneers of Black culture grafted Western political and social form onto the African legacy; organized churches, mutual aid societies, insurance companies, and newspapers as the first permanent Afro-American institutions and cultural structures; and identified issues that gave a special tone and character to the African concerns in America, thereby casting a unique set of orientations, values, perceptions and perspectives into a philosophy of Black being.

They were inspired to action by the memory and experiences of their parents and grandparents who, in spite of suffering deep social and psychological wounds from being torn from their cultural roots, and without conscious forethought or plan, had found some mutual means of coping with their American surroundings and circumstances. They heard the promises of the revolutionary ideas of democracy, the natural rights of human beings, and the Judeo-Christian principles vibrating throughout the United States, saw the inherent contradictions of these ideals with the facts of their existence, and felt called upon to apply these principles to improving the circumstances of all Black Americans.

The cumulative effects of the wear and tear on their psychological strength by always being objects of scorn, ridicule, amusement, invisibility, and by having to toil for someone else's gain became too great a burden to continue to endure in silence. Blacks thus began a "systematized protest program" for the sake of preserving their cultural identity and the dignity of their humanity that continues until today. What previously had been largely subliminal and susurrous individual efforts to repudiate the attempts of mainstream society and circumstances to strip them of their identity, their humanity and their cultural paraphernalia, became conscious, collective efforts, deliberately created and institutionalized into systems of values, beliefs, and behaviors.

Those Blacks who emerged from the masses in the 18th century to take the leadership in articulating, structuralizing, and institutionalizing the fundamental strands of the emerging Black culture were a diversified lot. They represented the heterogeneity that characterized their original ancestors, as well as the diversity that had been added by the intervening years and the differential experiences in the United States. These pioneers were not unlike their descendants of today.

They were men and women of different temperaments, persuasions, and visions, but they all were molded by a core of similar experiences. They were freedmen and slaves; journalists, ministers, poets, writers, and businessmen; some were African, West Indian, and mulatto, but most were "full-blooded Negroes"; some were nationalists, some were separatists, some were integrationists, and some were pluralists. They included such personages as Richard Allen, Phillis Wheatley, Paul Cuffe, John B. Russwurm, James Derham, and Benjamin Banneker. And, they also were the common people, whose only claim to fame in the unfolding drama of the emerging Black American culture was that they endured, and that their daily life and living were what the "leaders" called "Black culture." Without them there would have been no leaders, the heroes would have had no causes to proclaim, and there would have been no "laboratory" in which to cultivate the embryonic forces for the shaping of Black culture.

The common masses and the leaders of the Black American people pooled their talents and experiences to conceptualize the contours of their emerging culture. They described a life-style fashioned from the adaptations of the African origins and the cultural borrowing from European immigrant ethnic groups — particularly Anglo-Saxons and their descendants — and built upon the principles of mutual aid, aural-expressive arts, communal values, and reciprocity. Many of the institutions created by Black Americans were parallel to similar ones of the dominant Anglo-Saxon centric society. This synergy of habits and institutions is the legacy the Black cultural pioneers left to their descendants to embellish, to practice, and to perpetuate.

Although some changes have occurred and reshaping processes are constantly taking place, the cultural behaviors and institutions of Black Americans have continued to exist and serve their needs. But, then, dynamism, adaptation, and evolution are characteristic features of any culture that is alive and well, and especially so for one that is in such close proximity and interaction with other cultures as is the case with Blacks in the United States. Black religious institutions have proliferated, their influence and leadership potential have vacillated from time to time, but they continue to be significant cultural agencies within Black communities.

Remnants of the mutual-aid societies and Black insurance companies remain; however, their financial functions have been replaced largely by employment benefits of a technological society, such as the welfare system, workers' compensation, social security, and health,

accident and life insurance policies; their service functions are now being performed by public education systems, civil rights organizations, and political parties. The Black family continues to be a functional unit, albeit controversial, that (1) socializes its children into the essential Black cultural values, and (2) teaches them what it means (and the skills needed) to be Black in a predominantly white society. In a real sense, then, the biculturalism or dual identity that was forced upon the original African immigrants by the exigencies of their American existence is still nurtured today by similar needs embedded in societal necessity and cultural desires. Black newspapers and magazines are not as prominent as vehicles of cultural expression as they were in the 18th and 19th centuries, but there are now other media for this purpose, such as records, radio, literature, poetry, and art.

Words continue to be prized as powerful devices for survival in and outside the Black community. Little wonder that the person, regardless of his or her formal educational status, who is an artistic verbal performer, a skillful manipulator of words, a good "rapper," one who can "turn a phrase," is highly respected and admired for his talents. Nor is it a mystery that a major part of Black children's community socialization is devoted to developing verbal dexterity. These are natural priorities for a cultural heritage that revolves around aural traditions and oral expressions.

Given these predilections of Black Americans, it is not surprising that some of the most expressive artifacts of their culture are music, dance, art, drama, and literature, particularly poetry. Therein lies some of the most insightful information about the core values, beliefs, perceptions, and preferred behaviors of Black culture. These are both symbols and sources of such fundamental components of Black culture as indirection, "soul" as a philosophy of identity, improvisation and spontaneity, communalism, duality of identity, aural communication, and temporal concepts of time and space.

The durability and viability of Black American culture as a functional alternative cultural entity have been questioned incessantly since the time of its inception. The skeptics variously contend that Black life-styles are merely inadequate imitations of the dominant Anglo-American culture; that what is called Black culture is in reality the cult of poverty; that Blacks are "purely" Americans since any remnants of African heritage were destroyed by the slavery experience; and that there is little hope for the long-range survival of any identifiable Black culture. They also maintain that since it grew out of reactions to social problems, once these problems are solved the

foundation upon which Black culture is established will collapse.

Despite these arguments, Black American culture has existed as long as American culture. *There is little reason to believe that the* needs which prompted its creation and have fostered its continuation will cease to exist within the foreseeable future. This does not mean that changes in Black institutions and cultural processes will not occur. Assuredly, there will be modifications and adaptations in the future as in the past, as intercultural interaction, borrowing, and exchange between Black Americans and other cultural and ethnic groups proliferate.

The most obvious reason why Black culture will continue as a viable life-style alternative is the fact that many Black Americans still do not have full access to mainstream institutions and cultural options. Constitutional amendments, civil rights legislation, and judicial decisions have begun to open the social, economic, and political channels to mainstream American institutions and reward systems long closed to Blacks. But, the promises of the American Dream are far from being completely fulfilled.

Negative attitudes and discriminatory practices excluding Blacks from full participation, or relegating them to peripheral positions in society still exist. Many Black Americans, from time to time, feel a compelling desire to "go home," to "return to their roots," to look inward for a momentary refuge and sanctuary from the pressures of living and functioning in an often hostile dominant society. Therein they can find the inspiration, the affirmation, the rejuvenation, the revitalization they need to validate their personal integrity and sense of peoplehood. This need may very well be a human desire that is shared by all people who maintain strong ties with their original ethnic heritages.

Even middle-class Black Americans face this need to "go home." Most of them are only one or two generations removed from their "beginnings," many of which are grounded in poverty, Southern origins, and direct descendancy from slavery. To "go home" means visiting and relating to friends and relatives that are in a lower socioeconomic class, are more isolated from interaction with mainstream society, and are more intimately enmeshed in *practicing* Black culture. To make these interactions most pleasant, rewarding, and facilitative middle-class Blacks must be *active* biculturalists, who are capable of style-shifting back and forth between their own personal, social and professional worlds, and the worlds of their home folks. This inter-class (and frequently cross-regional) interaction among Black Americans is still another factor contributing to the perpetua-

tion of Black culture. It also helps to explain the phenomena of "unity within diversity," variations and commonalitites, and diversity and similarities among Black Americans.

The Black Cultural Revolution of the 1960's, and the current emphases on multi-culturalism, cultural pluralism and the revitalization of ethnicity underway in the United States stimulate cultural consciousness and the maintenance of distinctive life-styles as legitimate options. Furthermore, the insidious racism embedded in the institutional structures of American society serve to consolidate the historical experiences of Black Americans and to continually activate the need for them to have functional cultural options and life-styles. Indeed, for both internal reasons stemming from within the community of Black Americans and for external reasons impinging upon them from outside the community, Black culture is alive and well. We can expect it to suffer the normal pains of cultural growth, and hopefully it will age gracefully.

Sample Evidence of the Black Presence in American Life and Culture

The organization of a unique set of experiences, embodied with an African flavor and a synthesis of content, into a viable and functional life-style — a cultural entity with all its attendant institutions, ethos, orientations, and artifacts — is a worthy contribution of Blacks to the American Experience in and of itself. But, the gifts of Black folk go far beyond that. Black people have helped to build the United States since they first arrived on its shores.

They have labored in the fields and factories, fought on foreign and domestic battlefields, and enriched the nation with their inventions and discoveries, their music, language, writings, religion, and recreation. A complete inventory of the gifts of Black folk to American culture is beyond the scope of this article. A few examples will suffice to illustrate their range and diversity, and to document the fact that Black presence has always been evident in all dimensions of America's being, although in varying degrees of intensity.

The Black presence was first felt during the Spanish and Portuguese explorations of the New World. They were among the crew members of such early explorers as Columbus, Balboa, and the Spanish conquistadors who explored Mexico, Peru, and Chile in the 16th century. Blacks also helped pave the way for the exploration and settling of the Western frontier of the United States. Panfilo De Narvaéz led the first Europeans into the Arizona and New Mexico ter-

ritories, Jean Baptiste Point du Sable established the first settlement on the site that subsequently became Chicago; and James Bechwourth discovered a pass through the Sierra Mountains that became a gateway to California during the great Gold Rush. More than 5,000 Blacks are included in the American annuals of western cowboys. Their presence is evident in the lore of the cowboy's character, escapades, and folktales.

Throughout history, Blacks have been among the members of the semi-skilled and unskilled labor camps that followed and facilitated the growth of the United States from a small agrarian nation to one of the most highly industrialized and technological countries of the world. For a long time, the primary responsibility for the actual production of cotton and tobacco in the South rested upon their shoulders. With the coming of farm machinery and the demise of cotton as king in the Southern economy, many Blacks migrated to the industrial centers of the East and the Midwest. There they joined other laborers in assembly lines, stockyards, steel and coal mines, and railroad companies in the building of industrial America. They also "serviced" the homes, restaurants, and kitchens of America through such occupations as cooks, maids, housekeepers, porters, farmers. What have been deemed "undesirable" occupations by some are the mechanisms through which many Black Americans have made some essential, yet unrecognized, contributions to the making of America.

Such operational factors as inadequate professional preparation and racism have kept many prestigious occupations in business and industry beyond the reach of Black Americans until relatively recently. Most of those aspiring Blacks who have gone into business for themselves have achieved limited success, due in part to limited capital resources and small markets. The small-scale Black entrepreneurs are among the many Americans who are "just making a living" and do not "stand out" from the crowd. It is not surprising, then, that the number of individual Black businessmen and industrialists who have gained fame is quite small in comparison with some other fields. However, such people as A. Philip Randolph, John H. Johnson, Asa Spaulding, Madam C. J. Walker, and Berry Gordy are notable exceptions.

Blacks always have been actively involved in this nation's campaigns — whether military, political, social, or educational — to actualize the democratic principles of freedom, justice, and equality. Black Americans have served in all of the country's military campaigns, from Bunker Hill to the Vietnamese War. At least 5,000 Blacks fought in the colonial army in the Revolutionary War; over 186,000

joined the Union forces during the Civil War; more than 400,000 served in World War I; nearly 900,000 saw action during World War II; and Blacks comprised over 9 percent of the total armed forces which served in Vietnam. Individuals such as Dorie Miller, Daniel "Chappie" James, Mary Elizabeth Bowser, and Samuel L. Gravely, Jr. remind us of the thousands of Black military men and women, unknown by name, who have served valiantly in America's defense of freedom and democracy.

Through elective office, pressure groups, and social activism, Black Americans also have asserted their presence and influence to improve their own and others' social and political conditions at home. Between 1870 and 1977, forty-five Blacks were elected to the U. S. Congress. *The National Roster of Black Elected Officials* reported, for 1975, a total of 521,758 Black elected officials in the United States, including mayors, national officials, and high-ranking state officials. While this number in and of itself seems impressive, in reality it represents less than 1 percent of the total number of elected officials in the United States. Barbara Jordan, Richard Hatcher, Tom Bradley, and Edward Brooke are easily recognizable members of this select group. They are joined by appointed officials such as Patricia Harris, Andrew Young, and Thurgood Marshall in being among the most nationally-known Black public officeholders. Unquestionably the country is beginning to make some progress in including Black representation in our elected and appointed political offices. But, much remains to be done. The percentage of Black politicians is greatly disproportionate to the Black population, and most of those who are elected come from districts with high concentrations of Black people.

The activist groups and movements organized under the tutelage of Black Americans have been widely diversified in structure, philosophy, and program. Although their strategies have differed, the motivational forces underlying them have been almost identical. The abolitionist organizations; the underground railroads; the school children who crossed lines of hostile protesting parents to enter previously all-white schools; the freedom marches, voter registration campaigns, boycotts, sit-downs, and the pray-ins; the Federal court class-action cases; and the legislative lobbyists who campaigned successfully for the passage of the civil rights acts were all motivated by the desire to achieve equality of treatment and erase the stigma of second-class citizenship for Black Americans.

They also hoped that the fall-out effects of their efforts would improve the quality of life for all Americans. We readily associate

such names as Frederick Douglass, Sojourner Truth, Martin Luther King, Jr., Jesse Jackson, and Ida Wells Barnett, and organizations like NAACP, PUSH, Urban League, Black Panthers, and Black Muslims with these activities. It is only proper and fitting that we should do this. However, in the process we should not forget the many other peoples and groups who have not gained national attention, but who have worked conscientiously in their local jurisdictions and have contributed significantly to the struggle for social justice and political freedom for Black Americans.

Education always has been important for Black Americans. Educational success has been encouraged and prized for it offers opportunities for Blacks to "make it." The field itself includes prestigious careers which provide economic security and status within the Black community when most other professions have seemed totally beyond the realm of possibility. This faith in education as the road to success and a better life has given rise to several long-standing reputable Black institutions of higher education. Among them are Hampton, Howard, Bethune-Cookman, and the five colleges comprising the Atlanta University complex.

The man who has made one of the most significant contributions to changing the entire course of the education of Black Americans is not a professional educator. He is a lawyer; he argued the case of Brown versus Board of Education before the Supreme court in 1954; and he became a Supreme Court Justice in 1967. He is Thurgood Marshall. His landmark victory in the Brown Case ended the predominant "separate but equal" facilities in education, and paved the way for subsequent civil rights cases ending segregation in all public facilities.

Since 1954, doors have been opening a bit wider for Black Americans to participate in, and to influence and be influenced by, mainstream educational institutions on a larger scale. Slowly, school programs have begun to change to accommodate Black students in previously all-white schools, and to help other students understand and value the heritages and experiences of Black Americans.

Other Americans are beginning to take serious note of the contributions of Black educational institutions and individuals. Names like Mary McLeod Bethune, Lucy Laney, Benjamin Mays, Carter G. Woodson, and Wilson Riles come to mind when we think of influential Black educators. Black students, as a group, also have done their share to give the Black presence an impact upon American school curricula. Educational activities prompted by student protests of the late 1960's and the early 1970's have led to program revisions and

designs that include the study of Black American history, culture, and traditions in elementary, secondary, and higher education. These changes are appearing variously as Black Studies, Ethnic Studies, and Multicultural Education.

Black contributions in athletics and the expressive and performing arts are "classics," and are probably the most familiar to the general American public. Therefore, a detailed description of them need not be included here. Suffice it to say that Langston Hughes, Muhammad Ali, W. C. Handy, and George Washington Carver have many, many notable companions. While the names of musicians, literary figures, and athletes are likely to come to mind most readily when Black contributions to American culture are discussed, these are not the only artistic areas in which the Black presence and influence are apparent. Dance, drama, art, and folklore also are significant sources and symbols of Black American cultural philosophies, perceptions, values, and experiences. Music, in all its many styles and forms, has long been recognized as an expressive medium through which Blacks historically have communicated cultural messages and tempered their cultural rhythms. The same can be said for Black literature, drama, dance, and art.

The literary and artistic contributions of Blacks are not restricted exclusively to Black subject-matter content. Black artists often have transcended the boundaries and perspectives of their ethnicity and have used their talents to improve the general aesthetic and technical quality of their chosen art forms, solely for the sake of the "art." Thus, their diversified contributions have been prompted and shaped by their be-ing and behaving as Blacks, as artists, as Americans, and as Black artists in America. The resulting legacy to America is an incredibly rich and expressive collection of artifacts representing a wide range of artistic talents, cultural and aesthetic content, creative styles, and experiential sharing.

The list of "notables" that could easily represent the range of Black literary and artistic contributions is too long to attempt to select a few "representative samples." To name only one or two would do injustice to the numerous unnamed. Instead, the reader is encouraged to consult resources on Black American history such as the works of John Hope Franklin, Benjamin Quarles, and Lerone Bennett, Jr.; easily accessible anthologies such as *Black Fire*, *Black Culture*, and *The Poetry of the Negro*; and encyclopedic references such as the *Negro Almanac* for representative samples of Black literature and the names of authors, artists, dramatists, poets, musicians, and performers. Care should be taken to see that a broad range of different types and styles

of artists and artistic expressions are included in the list of samples to make it representative of the *entire* Black American Experience.

Black contributions in the field of science can be used to underscore the scope, range and diversity of their influence. Some representative samples of Black scientific pioneers and their contributions are: Daniel Hale Williams and his pioneer work in open heart surgery; Charles Drew's discovery of blood plasma and the beginning of the blood bank; Percy Lavon Julian has perfected a method of producing a cortisone for the treatment of arthritis, and a synthesized physostigmine for treating glaucoma; Lloyd Hall discovered curing salts; Norbert Riillieux invented a process for refining sugar; William Hinton developed a method for diagnosing syphilis; and George Carruthers designed the lunar surface ultraviolet camera spectograph for Apollo Sixteen.

An area of American life in which the Black presence is most pervasive, and one that is generally ignored by formal education programs is popular culture. Recordings of contemporary Black pop and soul songs are a multi-million dollar business. The music many young Americans prefer for recreation and relaxation is unmistakenly Black American-centric. If it is not the music itself of Black performers, then it is the music of other performers whose styles and techniques have been influenced by Blacks. Contemporary fashions in clothes are influenced by the preferences and styles of Black "youngbloods."

There is some credence to the belief that the way Black teenagers and young adults respond to a "new look" can turn it into a fashion craze or a failure. The Black imprint upon the contemporary language and communication of living — called by some "slang," by others "the vernacular of the youth culture" — is obvious, too. It can be seen in the vocabulary, the kinesthetic qualities, the rhythm and aesthetic-artistic manner in which language and behavior and interwoven, and act as essential complementary components of the communication act.

Consider if you will the language usage — its structure, vocabulary, and style — in newspaper, magazine, and television advertising, and reflect for a moment upon its similarities to communication behaviors typically associated with Black Americans. This is just one concrete example of the penetrating presence of Black culture in contemporary American life. It also is illustrative of the inescapable fact that cultural modifications and adaptations of any cultural system are bound to occur as different ethnic and cultural groups interact, borrow, and exchange perceptions, ideas, habits, and artifacts.

It should be remembered that as Blacks are influencing and helping shape American life and culture, so too are they being influenced and shaped by experiences and contacts with the many other ethnic and cultural groups in these United States.

A Final Thought

Indeed, Black people have left indelible imprints on the pages of American history and continue to have an impelling influence upon the shaping of Amercian culture. This reality needs to be reckoned with as we reassess the significance of ethnic and cultural diversity to the vitality of American life, and as we begin to think about restructuring American education so that its underlying principles are more congruent with the ethnic, social, and cultural characteristics of our pluralistic society.

As did other immigrants, Africans brought with them a distinctive heritage and identity to the New World. Through the natural processes of cultural evolution and exchange these have been modified and reshaped into a synergy called Black American culture. Black Americans are indeed bicultural. Today, as always, they share and practice some of the values, behaviors, institutions, and beliefs of the common American culture, while simultaneously engaging actively in an alternative life-style provided by Black culture.

The presence and influence of Black Americans have been felt in every aspect of life in the United States, during every phase of its development. Their contributions have enriched the whole of American life. America, in all its splendor, its faults, and its unfulfilled potential, would not be what it is without the presence and influence of Blacks. Nor would Black Americans be who and what they are if it were not for the American Experience. Therefore, this catalytic, vitalizing force of the Black presence in the United States needs to be recognized, prized, and nurtured continuously.

SOME EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS . . .

Given the realities about the Afro-American heritage, the character of Black life, and the presence and influence of Black folk in American history and culture discussed in this article, several educational implications are quite clear.

First of all, teachers and other school personnel need to develop more realistic and accepting attitudes toward cultural and ethnic diversity. They need to develop a better understanding of the concept

of culture, and the nature of human behavior in general and within the American context in particular. They need to identify the distinguishing cultural characteristics of Black Americans and other ethnic groups, and to learn how to interpret these characteristics within their own respective cultural contexts. Anthropological and sociological content and techniques can be most helpful in these endeavors.

Educators also need to understand that despite changes over time the original heritages and historical experiences of ethnic groups still have significant impacts upon the lives and identification processes of members of these groups today. Students have the right to be proud of their ethnic and cultural identity. The inclusion of this element in school programs as legitimate curriculum content is fundamental to providing quality education.

Teachers should understand why ethnic and cultural diversity has been a vital, catalytic force in American life and culture of the past, how it can be so in the present and the future, and that there are feasible ways of incorporating these kinds of teaching into school programming. Moreover, they need to learn how to use information about different ethnic groups and their cultural experiences in the process of analyzing the social, interactional, and instructional dynamics of multiethnic classrooms. The insights resulting from these analyses can be employed in the revision of the *total* educational process to make it more multicultural and ethnically pluralistic in content, process, and product.

Second, not only Blacks but all students need to receive instruction in Black American heritage and culture. This content should become an integral part of the total school curriculum—that is, appropriately incorporated in *all* subjects and learning experiences for *all* students at *all* grade levels.

Third, the heritages and experiences of Black American are complex and multidimensional. They can best be understood *within* the context of the American Experience. Accordingly, school curricula must provide for comprehensive, in-depth, interdisciplinary study and analysis of the Black Experience if they are to help students capture the essence, and a sense of the totality, of Black history, life and culture, and their contributions to American culture. A one-dimensional, single-subject approach to the study of Black American life is inadequate for the task.

Rather, teachers and curriculum specialists must begin to design curricula, select instructional materials, and plan learning experiences for students which bring to bear principles, concepts, content, and techniques of many different disciplines upon the study of Black

culture. These should include, especially, the social and behavioral sciences, history, and the expressive-aesthetic arts, such as poetry, drama, communications, dance, cuisine, and music. The life-style or cultural components subject to examination and analysis must include historal experiences, communication styles, socialization patterns, value systems, philosophical and psychological orientations, world views, social problems and present status of Blacks in American society, and their contributions to American culture and humankind. All of these must be examined interactively and from both historical and contemporary perspectives.

A wide variety of instructional materials should be employed to achieve these objectives. These, when used in concert, should have cognitive, affective, and action appeals. They might include such things as data about Blacks produced by scholarly research; Black self-referenced, experiential data derived from autobiographies, oral histories, and observations; and perspective-perceptual sources such as Black music, poetry, religion, folklore, and *demonstrated* communication habits.

Learning activities and experiences that are affective and action-oriented should be planned to facilitate students' internalizing and personalizing the cognitive information they acquire about Black Americans. For example, students and teachers can go on "exploring missions" to record samples and evidence of cultural expressions and artifacts in Black communities. During these "exploring missions" students would be encouraged to look for a wide variety of examples of Black culture in action; to test the academic constructs and hypotheses regarding what constitutes Black culture and how it is manifested against actual data recorded from observations.

In addition to developing the skills of "anthropological field observation," data collection, and critical analysis, learning exercises of this sort will bring students in closer contact with the "living culture" of Blacks in *natural* settings. Learning about it through observation and participation is more effective than the objective approach of reading recorded data in books (although this too must be a part of the *total* learning experience) because so much of the "essence" of Black culture is exhibited in oral expression and performance. The characteristics of a basically aural cultural system lose something in the translation when they are transferred from active operation to written description.

Fourth, to teach Black students most effectively, and to implement the best multicultural education programs possible require more than curricular changes. Many Black students bring certain

expectations and orientations to school which reflect their cultural conditioning. Frequently, these are not in accord with the institutional norms and expectations of the school. They can be seen in such areas as communication processes, behavioral patterns, non-verbal nuances, interpersonal interactional styles, and attitudes toward education and schooling.

Black students and their teachers who come from different ethnic and experiential backgrounds may look at the same situations and see different things, or assign different, often contradictory, meanings to them. These behaviors stem from differing perceptions and referential codes. If teachers and students misinterpret and misunderstand each others' social behaviors and personal habits, the resulting attitudes and evaluations are likely to interfere with the formal instructional process. Therefore, it is imperative that teachers understand the value systems and socialization processes of Black and other ethnic students as a prerequisite to more accurately interpreting behavioral patterns and attitudes manifested in the classroom. By being so equipped with this knowledge and techniques, teachers will have a much better chance of reducing and resolving clashes that might arise among different ethnic life-styles in the classroom, and of creating a classroom climate more conducive to the education and total growth of students.

A fifth implication is closely related to the foregoing. It has to do with ethnic learning styles. Black students are likely to be more inclined toward learning in social-group settings instead of in the formal, individualistic environments, generally prevalent in American schools. Undoubtedly, this predeliction reflects the cultural and historical emphases of Black Americans on cooperation, communalism, and mutual aid in work situations, or what Lerone Bennett describes as "the responsibility of each to all and of all to each" (*The Shaping of Black America*, p. 136).

The fact that much of the early instruction of many Black children in community and cultural values, expectations, and preferred behaviors occurs within peer group interactions has implications for how they may react to instructional situations controlled by *adult* teachers. Another related cultural inclination of Black Americans, which has an impact upon learning styles, has to do with interactional patterns. Blacks, being aural-oriented, place priority upon verbal performance as the most effective means of communication.

They also tend to rely heavily upon non-verbal nuances, such as gestures, facial expressions, intonation, and other body kinetics, used in concert with words, to convey the true meanings of their messages

in communication interactions. Also involved in Black communicative-interactional styles is the tendency toward "integrative response patterns." If Blacks are "moved to action" or to participate in a communication act they are likely to react, respond, and interact with their total being—that is, responding on cognitive, affective, and psychomotor levels simultaneously. These interactional styles are often contradictory to school expectations which place priority upon rationality, written tradition in communication, and compartmentalizing or dichotomizing cognitive, affective, and motor responses.

These differences between perceptions of Black Americans and the institutional norms of schools about which behavioral and climatic conditions are most conducive to facilitating learning suggest that teachers must make a deliberate effort to become informed about and understand the learning styles or patterns of Black students. However, they should not use their new-found knowledge about *patterns and predilections* of Black ethnic learning styles to stereotype or restrict the options of *individual* Black students.

They also must learn how to modify their instructional methodologies and classroom climates so that they are more compatible with and complementary to the learning styles of Blacks. For example, educational experiences and assessment techniques which play upon aural and performance inclinations, employ more informal classroom climates, and focus on consensus-based, cooperative, group-centered learning activities may be closer to the learning styles of many Black students than are the more individualistic, competitive kinds generally used by schools.

Undoubtedly, other ethnic groups have learning styles distinct from those of the middle-class Anglo-centric school norms and those of Black Americans with which teachers also must be cognizant. It is apparent, then, that teachers must develop wider, more diversified repertoires of instructional methodologies and interactional styles, which are cognizant and capable of responding to many different kinds of ethnic learning styles.

These few "educational implications" of Black American life and culture discussed here are by no means exhaustive. Nor are they exclusively limited to Black Americans. Rather, their generalized principles are applicable to other ethnic groups as well, although the specific *content* will differ according to the ethnic group. Also they are merely suggestive of the kinds of questions that teachers should be exploring in an attempt to better educate Black students, as well as to design and implement more authentic, accurate, and comprehensive multicultural education programs.

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THE CHINESE AMERICANS

By Thomas B. Lee

Few civilizations have reached the heights attained by that of China. Over the period of 5,000 years, the Chinese were able to establish a culture which has lasted through wars, invasions, disasters and internal ideological upheavals. The Chinese see themselves as the inhabitants of the Middle Kingdom, Chung Kuo, "the Center of the Earth," a viewpoint which has given them a sense of pride in their relations with the outside, "barbarian," world. In more literal terms the Middle Kingdom refers to the 18 provinces of China proper.

Similar to other great civilizations, such as Mesopotamia and Egypt, the Chinese started in proximity to a great river, the Yellow River. While the earliest history is shrouded in the mists of time, recorded history began in the Shang Dynasty (approximately 1523-1027 B.C.). A millenium before the coming of Christ in the Near East, China had a calendar and a well-developed agricultural society. Articles of bronze and jade abounded and the forerunners of the Chinese characters were written.

Early Chinese were able to touch upon enduring precepts that are as valid today as they were 2,500 years ago. Confucius and Mencius, the originators of Chinese humanism, expounded the idea of a person's fulfilling obligations to fellow humans. Strong family ties were encouraged, something which has been typical of Chinese society to the present day.

Unification of China was achieved by Chin Shih Huang (221-206 B.C.) in the third century before Christ. The Chin Dynasty is known for the organization of the country into administrative areas as well as the construction of roads and great buildings. Portions of the Great Wall, built as a deterrent to invasion from the north, date from this period. The Great Wall is the largest artificial defensive structure in the world, extending over 1250 miles (about 2,000, with its branches). The greater part was completed in the 14th century.

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China's political and military might grew rapidly during the Han Dynasty (202 B.C. to 220 A.D.). The Han legal code, the Nine Chapters, also was notable as it was to become the basis of future Chinese law. Education was encouraged, and the Emperor promoted learning. At one point, 30,000 students were at the University. Confucianism earned a place of honor as the preeminent philosophy, as Han administrators stressed ethics and justice.

The Chinese have gained world renown for their impressive public works and cities. Besides the Great Wall, the Chinese established a magnificent canal system. Built during the Sui Dynasty (590-618 A.D.), the Grand Canal linked the Yellow, Yangtze and Huai Rivers over an expanse of 1,000 miles.

Later, the T'ang Dynasty (618-906 A. D.), was to prove itself the zenith of artistic development. The Golden Age of letters and art was upon China and it is often said that during T'ang, every second man was a poet. All forms of culture were well advanced during T'ang. During the T'ang Dynasty there also was extensive trading contact with the outside world. In addition, educational contact between China and the outside was evidenced by the large number of Japanese who came to China to learn.

The Sung Dynasty (960-1279) is famed for its excellence in calligraphy and porcelain arts. Paper making and printing were invented at this time, thus putting China far ahead of her contemporaries in the outside world. Late in the Sung Dynasty, the Mongols were unified under Genghis Khan. They subdued China in 1279 after a long struggle and became known to Westerners through the accounts of Marco Polo. Khanate rule in China was fairly brief (1279-1368) and, before long, the Chinese recovered control of their country.

The Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) rose after Mongol rule had come to an end. Ming is known for its novels and porcelains. Many works of architectural excellence were created, such as the Forbidden City in Peking. It was also during Ming that the Chinese launched a number of seaward expeditions which brought its ships as far as the eastern shores of Africa.

The last period of Chinese Dynastic history was the Ching or Manchu rule (1644-1912). Although this dynasty had many strong points, the 19th century saw outside forces beginning to exert a large influence upon the Middle Kingdom. Ching was obviously not able to orchestrate the statecraft needed to counter the emerging European powers.

Unequal treaties, especially the one ending the Opium War (1840-42) eventually created the conditions which were to lead up to

Dr. Sun Yat-Sen's Republican Revolution. These conditions included indemnities imposed upon the Chinese people, extraterritorial rights granted to foreign governments which violated the sovereignty of China, and undue influence by foreign governments on Chinese tariffs. Westernization and modernization were being imposed upon China for the benefit of other countries and without regard for disturbance of the Chinese social structure. The Boxer Rebellion (1900) was an unsuccessful effort to overthrow the Manchus and to throw off foreign domination. The repression that followed this and other uprisings led to the Revolution in 1911-12 which unseated the Manchu Imperial Government and established the Republic in 1912. This landmark event was to bring China into the 20th century.

The background of Chinese immigrants to the United States in the middle of the 19th century was that of a peasantry dislocated from its native land because of political instability, repression, and natural disasters, such as crop failures, floods and economic pressure.

The reorganization of agriculture was an especially difficult problem for peasant societies. During this process, land holdings slipped from the control of peasant communities to become part of the large holdings of agri-businesses. In addition to these political and social stresses, China also suffered a decreasing mortality rate and an increasing birthrate. Overpopulation added to the pattern of subdivision of lands and the dislocation of peasants. The peasant farmer always hovered just above poverty and financial ruin.

The 19th century was particularly chaotic in China. The foreign Ching dynasty was totally corrupt and inefficient. Local administrators were left on their own and took advantage of the people under their jurisdiction. Secret societies frequently instigated uprisings.

Relations with western countries caused countless problems involving concessions and substantial indemnities which added to the people's difficulties. During the first half of the 19th century, large-scale rebellions broke out. These internal disturbances played havoc with the lives and livelihood of the Chinese people. Finally the great floods of the period added to the misery by killing countless people and by widespread destruction of essential crops. The suffering of the Chinese peasants was enormous: migration was the last resort to secure a better life.

The Chinese migrations were of a regional nature. The largest flow of emigration was from the province of Kwantung, along the south coast of China. It was in this area that the first contact with the West had come. Trade relations with the Europeans altered the Chinese economy and, along with factors of rebellion and natural

disaster, initiated the process of modernization and social change. Thus with the foreign ships for transportation and the sea so close at hand, the poor of the Pearl River Delta region chose to seek a living abroad.

Immigrants in the 1840's and 1850's

The Chinese began migrating to North America in significant numbers at the time of the California gold rush in the 1840's. They came to seek their fortunes and planned then to return to their homeland and native villages. This migration was part of the larger phenomenon of overseas Chinese migration which had begun with movements to Southeast Asia, the Philippines and finally to the Americas. At first, the chance of finding gold in America drew the Chinese, but later they came as contract laborers for mining, construction or other types of unskilled industrial jobs.

The Chinese immigrants were mistreated from the time of their earliest arrival by west coast Americans. Driven from the gold fields, the Chinese were forced to scavenge in the white men's leftover ore. Queue cutting and other forms of harassment plagued the new arrivals as early as 1851.

Some of the Chinese immigrants in the period were hired by the Central Pacific Railroad management to put an end to the threats of strikes and slowdowns by the Irish railway workers and to increase the pace of construction. The Chinese were invaluable to the railroad builders because they could tolerate difficult working conditions without resorting to strikes or slowdowns to express grievances.

Chinese customs were commonly thought to be strange, exotic. Most Chinese were conspicuous because of their distinctive facial features and the traditional attire which they continued to wear. The Chinese railroad workers seemed to follow a life style that made assimilation into American society improbable. Perhaps the fact that the Chinese made few attempts to adopt American customs made them seem unacceptable. At that time, the "melting pot" theory was limited to immigrants of European origin and descent.

Discriminatory Laws

A number of laws discriminating against Chinese immigrants were enacted by the United States Congress after it passed the Exclusion Law of 1882. The Chinese were blamed by Americans for lowering wages, breaking strikes, etc. Nonetheless, like early European

immigrants, the Chinese also were partly responsible for America'a prosperity and growth. As they settled down to raise their children, the Chinese need for the products and services of others became a factor in the nation's development. However, to many Americans the issue of the assimilation of Chinese and other orientals was a source of concern.

It is true that the coming together of so many different peoples and ethnic-racial groups in one nation was totally unprecedented. And, under the difficult circumstances of rapid economic and social transition, it was almost inevitable that some conflicts would arise. As more diverse groups of people entered the United States, adaptation would become that much more difficult. Today, more and more Americans are realizing that the discredited ideology of the "American Melting Pot" also did not treat immigrants equally. The theory was equally a mistake in that it demanded the total surrender of ethnic identity by minority newcomers.

Improvements in the 20th Century

The image and status of the Chinese in the United States began to improve following the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937. In World War II, the emergence of the heroic Chinese, as one of the most important of America's Pacific allies, proved to be highly favorable for United States-China relations. In 1943, Congress repealed the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882.

During the period of the Chinese civil war (1937–49) a significant number of educated Chinese migrated to the United States from mainland China to escape from Communist rule. Thus, the "student group" is a major non-immigrant class that has quietly settled down in this country.

However, for the most part, the bulk of Chinese immigrants in the United States have been of the working class. They came here and tended to select Chinatowns as their preferred place to live. Although Chinatowns are familiar to many, few understand what in fact they really are.

What Is a Chinatown?

In general, a Chinatown is a city within a city. It is where the Chinese people meet each other and have a life-style with a highly distinctive character and flavor. Chinatowns were developed during

the early years of Chinese immigration by newcomers seeking social and economic betterment.

A Chinatown is a center of social and business activities surrounded by a non-Chinese community. The heart of a Chinatown usually consists of narrow streets with small shops and restaurants. The standards of residential desirability, generally speaking, are below the national level. Many of the buildings are not suitable for residences, and many are too old to be equipped with necessary sanitary facilities. In short, Chinatowns in this country usually are substandard and overcrowded.

During earlier days, two distinctive types of business developed in Chinatowns: The Chinese laundry and the Chinese restaurant. Both of these businesses were designed to provide low-price service to non-oriental customers. For several decades, employment available to the second and third generations of Chinese-Americans was very limited. A small number of young people, with limited educational background, returned to China to pursue their vocations; others had to content themselves with inferior positions here.

Cities such as San Francisco, Honolulu, New York, Los Angeles, Sacramento, Chicago, Boston, Seattle, Washington, D.C., and Philadelphia, have Chinatowns. Their size may vary but their spirit and format are similar. Nevertheless, successive younger generations of American-born Chinese may move out of their native Chinatowns as their circumstances permit and may settle in the better residential parts of their cities.

Since the United States Congress enacted a new Immigration and Naturalization Act in 1965, over 20,000 Chinese immigrants have come to this country annually. A very significant number of them will move into Chinatowns. Therefore, the populations of Chinatowns in this country have grown in recent years. To accommodate this influx of newcomers, Chinatown businessmen have started to purchase buildings and land beyond their former boundaries.

Today, Chinatowns can no longer conceal their social problems. Slum housing, untreated illness, education deficiency, and joblessness all are present to some degree. And the old, traditional community organizations (which in the past were chiefly responsible for local stability) are gradually losing their influence.

Many Chinese-American merchants are hesitant about rebuilding Chinatowns because of overcrowding and ever-increasing crime reports. In the past, Chinatowns were known for their lack of violent crimes and juvenile delinquency. However, the picture of United States Chinatowns changed drastically in the late 1960's when the

influx of 20,000 Chinese immigrants a year* under the new rules upset the old social structures. Thus, it is clear that the social changes in Chinatowns have been far-reaching.

Social and Organizational Life

One distinctive characteristic of Chinatowns is the presence of associations. They are of four major types: family associations, district associations, Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Associations, and Tongs.

The activities carried on by these associations are many and varied. They include religious, commercial, fraternal, judicial, and charitable stewardship over their members. Traditionally, American Chinese have been discouraged from bringing their disputes and disagreements before civil courts and have been encouraged to settle matters within their own private associations.

By far, the most important association is the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association. The board members of this association are the heads of other associations in the community.

The social life of the average Chinese American is limited. Because he has enough opportunities to visit his friends and relatives, and because most Chinese in a Chinatown belong to district or family associations, the social distance between many Chinese Americans and other Americans may still be measured in "miles."

Even though the Chinese Americans are constantly becoming better adjusted to American ways, certain distinctively Chinese attitudes remain. For instance, a Chinese, no matter how educated he is, is reluctant to prepare a will far in advance, and this neglect may cause his family serious trouble. The average Chinese works very hard. Consequently his social life is not extensive outside his own circle. Opportunities for participating in American life are few and limited.

On the other hand, more and more Chinese are attending American colleges. Consequently, in recent years, the number of engineers, teachers and other professionally-trained Chinese Americans has increased — and so have their social contacts.

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*In addition, as happens with other ethnic groups, a number of illegal immigrants whose numbers cannot be determined accurately arrive each year. These "illegals" suffer additional problems because of their need to keep a low profile.

Chinese-American Values

The Chinese have a long and illustrious history of reverence for education. Both parents and children consider education to be the most important thing in their lives, and in general, parents always try to keep their children in school until graduation. The desire for continued university learning is ever present. Since Chinese parents tend to desire the best education for their children, it is very important that teachers invite the parents to come into the school to discuss their child's progress and problems, or even to have them visit the school to see how their child functions in classroom situations.

In general, first-generation adults are very much concerned about their Chinese heritage and are fearful that the school may be trying to erase the ethnic characteristics of their children. Parents are very sensitive as to whether they can successfully preserve their old values and traditions. Therefore, they try to teach their children Chinese language and culture in private Chinese schools.

The Chinese, as well as other ethnic groups, are experiencing a generation gap; however, it is not so serious as to induce Chinese children to deny their cultural heritage. In our schools today youngsters are encouraged to share special cultural traditions. No longer do his traditions set a child apart. Rather they make each child special unto himself. There are few specific practices in American schools which Chinese Americans find objectionable to their own heritage. However, the relaxed discipline of American schools is often at variance with the respect Chinese elders expect of children and sometimes causes concern as a possible source of friction between parents and their children.

More could be done to help all children profit from the Chinese culture. Little is taught in American schools of Chinese customs, festivals, or traditions. While it is true that mention is made of Confucius and his great contributions, little mention is made of any of the other Chinese philosophers or great teachers such as Mencius, Mo Tzu and Lao Tzu. This is a serious omission in American education.

Nonetheless, Chinese traditions have distinctive positions among Chinese Americans. Many of them were brought up under Confucian ethics, and they in turn have taught their children these values—filial piety, respect for elders, tolerance, and loyalty to family and country.

In general, religion in China was never as powerful as in the Moslem world or in India. While Buddhism was a dominating force in people's daily life, Confucianism and Taoism were basically schools

of philosophy. However, Christianity is the principal religious faith for the Chinese in America. The most active Protestant churches among the American Chinese are the Southern Baptists, the Presbyterians, the American Baptists and the Methodists. The average number of members of each church is 155. Buddhist temples can be found in some major American cities. For example, it is estimated that there are about ten Buddhist temples in the New York metropolitan area.

In accordance with the changing patterns of American society, Chinese family structure has undergone some modification. For example, the size of a Chinese family in this country has shrunk gradually, both because the extended family is giving way to the nuclear family and because a declining birth rate is reducing the size of the nuclear family as well. With gradual disappearance of the extended family, parental authority is no longer absolute in the Chinese community.

The repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act made it possible for a considerable number of Chinese scholars, scientists, physicians, engineers, and artists to settle in this country. These newly arrived Chinese intellectuals are helping to overcome the earlier stereotypes of the restaurant worker and laundryman.

In any event, the proportion of Chinese in the United States, who have received advanced degees is higher than that of any other ethnic group. (The best estimate of Chinese Americans in this country today is 600,000.) They came to this country to seek more than "gold." Here they expected to find fulfillment of their highest ideals.

Some Accomplishments

Since Chinese are not fond of playing an active and aggressive role in politics, there are only a limited number of Chinese Americans who have become well-known in this category. Hiram L. Fong of Hawaii is the only American of Chinese descent who has become a member of the United States Senate. Mrs. March Fong Eu is serving as the Secretary of State of California. Dr. Yuan-li Wu, Professor of economics at San Francisco University, served as Deputy Assistant Secretary in the Defense Department during 1969–1970.

Dr. Tsung-dao Lee of Columbia University and Dr. C. N. Yang of New York State University at Stony Brook shared the 1957 Nobel Physics Prize. Dr. C. C. Tin of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology won the 1976 Nobel Physics Prize. Dr. Chien-shiung Wu of Columbia University was the first woman to become the President of the American Physics Society. Dr. Wang An founded the Wang Labo-

ratories which manufactures small computer systems and employs 2,600 people who do business at an annual volume of $80 million. Dr. Choh-hao Li is the Director of the internationally-renowed Hormone Research Laboratory at Berkeley, California.

I. M. Pei, one of the world's foremost architects, has changed the skyline of many cities throughout the world. Dong Kingman is one of the world's leading watercolor artists. C. Y. Lee, the author of *Flower Drum Song*, is now involved with film productions. Lin Yutang's book *My Country and My People* has enjoyed consistent popularity since its initial publication in 1935.

Chinese scholars also have won admiration and prominence in the fields of humanities and social studies. Chinese professors in the oriental arts, languages, history and government are found on the faculties of many colleges. In all, an estimated 7,000 or more Chinese are currently teaching in American universities and colleges. The foregoing listing is far from complete, but it is representative of the achievements of Chinese Americans.

Chinese Americans Today

Chinese immigrants are as loyal to the United States as are immigrants from other lands. They understand that they have to adjust themselves so that they may become fully-integrated members of the American community. With ever-growing numbers of Chinese people in this country, with their political awareness increasing, the Chinese have come to realize the meaning of elections and some are actively participating in the American political party system. However, in general, the Chinese people's political influence in this country is very limited.

Because of experience with exclusionary policies, Chinese in America have tried to take care of themselves. For instance, while there are some labor unions in the larger Chinatowns, these usually are not affiliated with the larger American organizations. In the past, American labor unions effectively barred the Chinese from many occupations. Therefore, there has been a tendency for the Chinese to maintain their own unions. This self-reliance of the Chinese community is also reflected in their small number of public relief applications.

For many years, the Chinese in this country have been criticized for rejecting integration and assimilation. The truth is that U.S. policy of the past was specially designed to prevent them from achieving integration and assimilation. Emotional attachment to one's country

of origin is not a unique Chinese phenomenon. It is quite common among ethnic groups all over the world but if an Asian American identifies with the country of his origin, by some he is not considered an American, regardless of his citizenship.

On the other hand, if he is not considered "one of us" by his fellow Americans, he has still more reason to need a stronger emotional tie to the country of his origin. Thus a vicious cycle develops between racial discrimination and ethnic loyalty. Members of the larger American community should learn to think of Chinatowns as more than a place to shop and have dinner. American teachers can help their students achieve a better understanding of Chinese Americans.

As to the Chinese, we feel, at this time, that our fundamental educational problem involves not only the formal education of young people in a Chinatown, but also the instruction of older Chinese people in the importance of civic responsibility. They must learn the value of being civic minded, the value of voting, and the value of taking an active part in American institutions.

The fact that political awareness often is lacking in a Chinatown is a tremendous handicap to the community. Consequently, ample manpower and the funds which are needed to solve Chinatown problems are not forthcoming, because of the community's lack of political clout.

While Chinese participation in American political affairs has been limited in general, an important exception must be noted in the Lau vs. Nichols case in San Francisco. This action was brought by members of the Chinese community in behalf of children in the public schools who could not speak English. A landmark decision was handed down by the U. S. Supreme Court in 1974 requiring schools to provide equal opportunity to all children and therefore to offer children some special assistance such as intensive instruction in English as a Second Language or bilingual programs in school subjects. There are now a few Chinese-English bilingual programs in both San Francisco and New York City. However, these programs are not as extensive as those in Spanish and English.

If the problems of the Chinese American community are going to be solved, not only must the Chinese search and work for solutions, but so must members of the larger American community. They must help to support promising Chinese community projects so that Chinese Americans can make their full contributions to life in the United States.

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THE EAST EUROPEANS

By Richard J. Krickus

Emigrants from Eastern Europe set foot on American shores with the first settlers of Jamestown, established a pioneer community in Sandusky, Ohio, and fought with Kosciusco in the American Revolution. Early arrivals from the eastern countries were here to welcome the large-scale immigration that came in two waves: the first occurred from the late 1880's to the mid-1920's when immigrants primarily from the Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires arrived. The second wave came after World War II when ethnic minorities living under Soviet Russian domination — as well as Poles, Hungarians, Rumanians, Albanians, Yugoslavians, and Czechoslovakians — emigrated to the United States.

Understanding Who They Are

There are about 20 million Americans in the United States who are subsumed under the East European ethnic label. They and their ancestors have profoundly affected American life. Yet unfortunately, we know very little about them or their former homelands.

With the exception of some universities — but far fewer colleges — our educational system generally does not offer courses devoted to Eastern Europe. Primary and secondary school curricula which touch upon this critical area of the world usually offer only superficial treatment. Even less attention has been devoted to Americans of East European ancestry — their political, economic, social, and cultural history or their contemporary behavior. This neglect accounts for pervasive ignorance and misinformation about them among the public, the media, and the educational community.

There are a number of reasons why this situation persists:

1. Until recently, many educators accepted the myth of the Melt-

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ing Pot, clung to the notion that ethnicity recedes with modernization, or neglected white ethnicity out of fear that it was divisive and a subject to be avoided.

2. For reasons we shall discuss, East European ethnics could not, or chose not to, call attention to their heritage.

3. It has been U.S. Government policy to ignore white ethnicity. The census, for example, grossly underestimates the number of East European ethnics because it records only foreign-born persons, or those who are offspring of a marriage involving at least one parent born abroad. Under these circumstances, the census does not tell us how many Americans of East European descent beyond the second generation reside in the United States. And since religious questions are prohibited, the data do not indicate how many Polish Americans, for example, are of the Jewish or Catholic faiths.

4. Data provided by religious organizations and scholarly surveys are helpful but often exaggerate or underestimate the number of people belonging to a group. According to the *Official Catholic Directory* (using 1970 data), there are 5.3 million Poles, 1.3 million Lithuanians, and 3.6 million "East Europeans" who belong to the Roman Catholic church in the United States — a total of 10.2 million persons. These figures are misleading underestimates since they do not include American Catholics of East European descent who have drifted away from the church. In addition, there are millions of East European ethnics who are Protestants, Jews, "free thinkers," or belong to various non-Latin rite Catholic or "Eastern" Orthodox churches. (Since American Jews are treated in a separate article in this volume, the present section deals only with Gentiles and "free thinkers" from Eastern Europe.)

Because of data limitations and past neglect of white ethnicity, it has become common practice to treat the various component East European groups collectively although they are deserving of separate consideration. Even when this happens, it is usually the Poles — the largest East European ethnic group — who are singled out, while the Czechs, Slovaks, and Ukrainians are put in an all-inclusive "Slavic" category. Many writers also imply that all the East Europeans are Slavs even though this is not true of the Hungarians or Lithuanians.

Another common practice, even among students of white ethnicity is not distinguishing between first-generation Lithuanians, for example, who arrived prior to World War I and those who came after World War II. This is a serious error, further precluding intelligent treatment of East European ethnics.

The East European immigrants who arrived here at the begin-

ning of the Twentieth Century were largely poorly educated, politically unsophisticated peasants who found employment as industrial workers. Victims of prejudice and discrimination, and subject to a campaign to denigrate their cultures, they and their children remained in the working class for two generations or more.

Those who emigrated to the United States after the Second World War (a far smaller group) were initially displaced persons — DP's — who fled west before the advancing Soviet armies, seeking safety in Allied-occupied Europe. In 1956, hundreds of thousands of Hungarians left their homeland after the abortive Hungarian revolution. Many settled in the United States.

More recently, with the relaxation of East-West tensions, a small trickle of emigrants from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe has entered this country. Most East Europeans associated with this latest migration belong to the urban middle class. Secure in their culture, in possession of industrial or professional skills, they and their children have prospered in the United States. The "DP's" have established language schools, cultural and political organizations, and belong to social networks generally separate from those of earlier East European migrants.

There are then, two distinct subcultures within the East-European ethnic community. This article will treat the first wave subculture, the larger of the two, but the reader who wishes to explore the subject in a more comprehensive fashion should not ignore the subculture associated with post-World War II migration.

Why They Came

The men and women who arrived with the first wave of East Europeans (1880's–1920's) — like the Western Europeans who had come before them — were both pushed and pulled to the United States. Some fled in the face of political, religious, and cultural oppression. As nationalism spread eastward during the second half of the 19th century, ethnic minorities living under the Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires demanded greater political and cultural freedom. Their foreign masters responded by outlawing the use of "minority" languages and expressions of "minority" cultures.

Many Poles living under Prussian domination emigrated when the German language and Prussian culture were forced upon them; so did Slovaks, Lithuanians, and other ethnic groups subject to the rule of the Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires. A small number of intellectuals and nationalists fled to escape political, religious, or

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cultural oppression. A far larger number of young men expressed their political protest by emigrating to escape draft into an army that wasn't theirs.

Although oppression was a factor, socio-economic changes disrupting Eastern Europe loomed larger in the minds of most prospective emigrants. Land consolidation, crop failures, and the practice of dividing the family plot among male children or awarding it to the eldest son, all produced the same result — more peasants than arable land.

The scarcity of land and employment was exacerbated by high population growth rates throughout Eastern Europe in the last quarter of the 19th century. What was to become present-day Poland doubled in population from 1850 to 1900. During the 1880's, the Hungarian population grew by two million. As the army of jobless peasants increased, many sought work in the industrial areas of Western Europe and some migrated to the frigid vastness of Siberia. By the late 1880's, available employment in the industrialized areas of Europe shrank, causing landless peasants to purchase steamship tickets for America.

For generations, American students have been taught that the prospect of political liberty, religious freedom, and social equality lured immigrants to our shores. Although such prospects served as magnets, the single most compelling attraction was economic opportunity. The United States was the most rapidly developing industrial society in the world and its need for manpower was awesome. There were not enough workers here to dig coal, sew garments, lay track, man blast furnaces, and manufacture goods.

Eastern and Southern Europeans came by the millions to perform these tasks, often accepting dangerous, dirty jobs for wages lower than those paid to Americans and Western European immigrants. By providing the necessary manpower under these conditions, the newer arrivals provided the labor necessary to sustain rapid industrial growth in the United States. Contrary to much popular opinion, they gave as much as they got — perhaps more.

The Reception They Received

As the most recent immigrants made their presence felt in the United States, bigots propounding pseudo-scientific theories of Aryan superiority warned that the newcomers represented a "danger" to Protestant America. In 1911, a study commissioned by the U.S. Congress — the Dillingham Report — asserted that the non-

Aryan immigrants were intellectually inferior to the Anglo-Saxons who had arrived here earlier.

From the pulpit and the campaign stump, and through popular magazines and books, the "hunkies" or "bohunks" were depicted as dimwitted carriers of alien religions, cultures, and political ideas who were "polluting the nation's Aryan bloodstream."

With the outbreak of the First World War, all "foreigners," (not only Germans), were perceived as potential fifth columnists. Fear along these lines grew when the United States entered the war. The slogan "Many People, But One Nation" which had been proclaimed earlier was superseded by "America First."

Under the influence of nativist propaganda, American teachers pressed immigrant students to shed their parents' culture and language. Many immigrants and their offspring did not need much prompting. After all, they reasoned, if you wanted to prosper in America, it made sense to adopt New World values and eschew those associated with the Old World. In addition, embracing the myth of the Melting Pot also seemed to be a protection against discrimination.

In the process, many newcomers internalized myths and half-truths that denigrated them and their cultures, causing many to perceive themselves as less able and less worthy than the "Americans." This self-image is still visible among some of their descendants today. Fortunately, there were also those among the immigrants who labored mightily to preserve their heritage. They did so through publication of foreign language newspapers, social organizations, cultural institutions, and, perhaps of larger importance, through family and community life. Nonetheless, it was not until Poles, Czechs, and Ukrainians "made it" by moving into the middle class in significant numbers — over the past quarter century — that millions of them were able to come to grips with a heritage that many of their parents had rejected.

The Backbone of the Industrial Labor Force

A majority of East European immigrants were young male migrant workers who arrived in America with the hope of sending money home or who dreamed about returning to Europe rich enough to buy land or a small business.

From the aftermath of the Civil War until the First World War, 60 percent of the new immigrants were male and young; for example, Lithuanian men outnumbered women two to one. A large proportion of these men did not intend to settle in the United States permanently.

Between 1908 and 1923, 40 percent of the Poles, 50 percent of the Russians, and two-thirds of the Rumanians and Hungarians returned to Europe. Some did so when their former subject homelands gained political independence after World War I; a larger number were migrant workers or disgruntled settlers. Many of these returnees, however, came back to the United States. Of the 40,000 Lithuanians who left the United States after their homeland became independent in 1918, all but 10,000 eventually returned to America.

The migrants who stayed here joined the settlers and congregated in mill towns, mining camps, and industrial urban centers where jobs could be had, preferably for both sexes. Few had money to purchase land and many regarded working the soil as symbolic of the peasant status they wished to escape. Thus most sought jobs in the manufacturing and mining areas of New England, the Mid-Atlantic states, and parts of the Great Lakes region.

By 1920, the new immigrants were the backbone of the American industrial labor force. As their communities grew, their fellow workers perceived them as scabs and strike breakers, or, at the very least, low-paid drones who were denying "Americans" jobs and decent wages.

Some new immigrants were scabs and strike breakers, and many accepted lower wages to secure employment. A larger number of newcomers, however, demonstrated that they would join unions and fight economic oppression if given the chance.

For the most part, the American Federation of Labor (AFL) did not give them that chance. Even though many rank and file members and leaders in the Federation were immigrants themselves — primarily from Western Europe — they adhered to nativist myths and half-truths about the newcomers. Furthermore, the "hunkies" were unskilled, and the Federation under Samuel Gompers' rule — the mine and brewery workers' unions were among the exceptions — was wedded to a craft-oriented organizational strategy.

The AFL, as constituted in its early years, turned its back on the new immigrants even after they had demonstrated on numerous occasions that they would fight for better wages and working conditions and, yes, for a union too. At the turn of the century, the East Europeans in Pennsylvania's anthracite region played a pivotal part in a series of strikes that enabled the United Mine Workers of America to become a viable labor organization.

In 1912, Eastern and Southern European workers in Lawrence, Massachusetts, demonstrated that industrial unionism was a viable strategy when, under the radical leadership of the Industrial Workers

of the World, they struck and won concessions from their employers. And, in 1919, when the most massive strike in the nation's history up to that point closed down the steel industry, the East European immigrant workers represented the largest and most militant force in that abortive strike.

In spite of these demonstrations of militancy, it was not until the 1930's, with the rise of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), that the Eastern Europeans were welcomed into the house of labor. Ever[illegible]ince, they have played a critical role in the American labor [illegible]ment. Today, wherever workers of East European descent are found in large numbers, unions are strong.

Because of their working-class background, East Europeans have the reputation of being poorly educated, low-paid, blue-collar workers. Many are, especially those over forty, but the younger generation East European Catholics are among the most mobile in American society. In terms of educational attainment, for example, Poles are 1.2 years ahead of the average white Protestant even in the more industrialized metropolitan North.

Polish and Slavic Catholics also are disproving Max Weber's theory about the Protestant ethic. The Center for American Pluralism at the University of Chicago found that the average family incomes of Polish and Slavic Catholics (in 1974 dollars) were $11,292 and $10,826 respectively, compared to $10,354 for British Protestants, $9,758 for German Protestants, and $9,595 for Scandinavian Protestants. The emphasis on security among East Europeans has led to their opting for jobs and occupations that offer a combination of modest income with economic security. As a result, few Eastern Europeans are found at the extremes of wealth or poverty but instead in a substantial middle range. That these findings pertaining to economic mobility may surprise many readers testifies to widespread ignorance about "underachieving" Catholic East European ethnics.

Urban Settlers

The availability of jobs determined where East Europeans settled. By 1910, 72 percent of all foreign-born Americans were urbanites; most were from the new immigrant migration. Poles sank roots in the textile towns of New England; they worked in Chicago's stockyards, in the coal mines of Illinois and Pennsylvania, and in many other northern cities where industrial employment was available.

Slovaks congregated in Pennsylvania — where they were the single largest white segment of the labor force in the steel industry —

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but some trekked westward to find employment in the Mid-West. Lithuanians favored Chicago, parts of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, and several New England states.

Serbs and Croats were attracted to the industrial towns which sprang up around Lake Michigan — the cities of Gary, Whiting, Hammond, and East Chicago. In Cleveland and East Toledo, Hungarians established neighborhoods which are still thriving today.

At the outset, there was considerable movement from city to city because the labor market was unstable. When the immigrants did find steady jobs, they chose to live among their own kind where they could find remnants of the old culture, speak the native tongue, and eat and drink familiar food and beverages.

In some cities, large and relatively homogeneous ethnic neighborhoods such as Lithuanian Marquette Park in Chicago and Hungarian Birmingham in East Toledo evolved. In most cities, however, Poles, Czechs, and Ukrainians lived in mixed ethnic neighborhoods where they resided among Jews, Italians, and Irish Catholics, although many of these ethnically-heterogeneous neighborhoods contained one or more blocks where specific ethnic groups lived. Later the more mobile members of various new immigrant communities moved from the "greenhorn" section of town to once Anglo-Saxon Protestant neighborhoods—from the Ironbound section of Newark, New Jersey, to Vailsburg, for example.

While the East Europeans have been part of the stream from the cities to the suburbs, millions of them still live in Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, and many smaller northern cities. In many places, East European immigrants who arrived after the end of the Second World War have replenished center-city neighborhoods, giving new energy and purpose to them.

These neighborhoods often are the last remaining socially and economically viable ones to be found in urban pressure cookers stricken by physical blight, racial strife, street crime, soaring taxes, and declining commercial activity and public services. Where they have disappeared, the plight of the largely poor, minority, and elderly residents who are left behind is exacerbated since tax yields, jobs, and commercial activity accompany white out-migration.

In the small towns and subdivisions which surround New York City, Newark, Boston, and Chicago, ethnically distinct suburbs may be found. Elsewhere in the suburbs, ethnically homogeneous neighborhoods may not exist but an "ethnic community" thrives; that is, Poles, Lithuanians, and Slovaks dispersed over a wide area belong to relatively cohesive communities where people who share a com-

mon heritage socialize with one another and celebrate common religious and cultural experiences through their churches and ethnic associations.

Demographers have found that the Catholic East Europeans reside in the same metropolitan areas, if not in the same cities, where their ancestors lived. Presently 30 percent of the Lithuanians reside in New England, 21 percent in the Mid-Atlantic states, and 36 percent in the Mid-West. Among Poles, 52 percent reside in the Mid-West, and 30 percent in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.

The East European Community

The family, the church, and ethnic organizations were vital to the East European immigrants. On this score most scholars are in agreement, but there is a wide difference of opinion as to: (1) whether or not the immigrant family was shattered by the trauma of immigration, urbanization, and industrialization; and (2) whether the church and ethnic organizations fostered the decline of ethnic values or helped to maintain them. Because social scientists have just begun to apply their impressive array of measurements to these issues, answers are not yet available.

Early students of the immigrant family maintained that the family system as a viable social unit was shattered in the New World because economic necessity drove all but the very young and old into the labor force, thereby destroying the family's integrity. It was held that immigrant and second-generation children in particular cast off the old values before they learned how to cope with the new ones they encountered in the United States.

At the beginning of this century, social commentators cited desertion, high rates of alcoholism, juvenile delinquency, and crime — especially among the second generation — as testimony to family disintegration. With the hindsight of history and new research findings, present-day social scientists have begun to reject this view, claiming that in spite of serious threats, the immigrant family provided emotional and material support to its members and helped them adapt to an alien urban industrial milieu.

The family continues to loom large in the lives of Americans of East European descent. Studies indicate that Poles are more inclined to live in close proximity to, and to socialize with, their families than are other Americans. The closely woven Polish family continues to provide its members with a safe harbor from the social changes swirling around everyone living in the United States.

Cohesive families also may account for lower divorce rates among American Catholics and Jews than among Protestants. At the same time, what was once perceived to be a correlation between membership in Catholic ethnic families and low rates of achievement has come under heavy fire. On the contrary, unrivaled rates of educational and economic mobility among Italians and Poles may have something to do with family life. F. Thomas Juster, in *Education, Income, and Human Behavior* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1974), observes, "Economists and other social scientists recently have begun to pay close attention to the possible role of pre-school investment in children by parents, as it affects subsequent educational attainment." He stresses the importance in particular of "the quantity (and) quality of parental time inputs" in explaining greater educational and income mobility among Catholics and Jews than among Protestants.

It would be a serious mistake, however, to infer from such findings that the East European family is invulnerable to the forces which disrupt family life in other American communities. A large number of senior citizens in many northern cities are Catholic East Europeans who were not invited to accompany their children to the suburbs. Drug abuse, juvenile delinquency, and other social problems afflicting American youngsters nationwide also trouble Polish, Czech, and Slovak families. Anyone familiar with Catholic East European ethnics has observed that the quasi-extended family associated with them is in imminent danger and may soon fade into history.

About a half century ago the noted Polish sociologist Florian Znaniecki (see "Suggested Additional Readings") wrote, "The Polish-American parish is much more than a religious association for common worship under the leadership of a priest." The church was a source of security for the immigrants; it was part of the Old World transplanted and a refuge from a frightening environment. In America, the church took on an importance among the Poles that was unrivaled even in Poland, where the peasants were among the most devout Catholics on the continent. Even those who took their religion lightly in the old country (or who viewed the hierarchy with suspicion because it meekly accepted the old order) were attracted to the church in America, where it became the focal point of immigrant life.

In America, the church enabled the immigrants to sustain old values and beliefs — in spite of opposition from an Irish-dominated hierarchy. It was the nexus for organizations which proliferated as the immigrant community grew. After World War I, the largest Polish parish in the United States, St. Stanislaw Kostka in Chicago, was home for 140 organizations — mutual aid societies, women's organi-

zations, youth groups, cultural associations, and various and sundry other organizatons serving the Polish immigrants.

The priest often was the best educated member of the East European community, and he could perform services crucial to the welfare of his parishioners: he found work for the unemployed, served as banker, marriage counselor, judge, and scribe, and intervened with the authorities when one of the faithful broke the law. For many years, the church was the only powerful institution to which the immigrant had access; even the American authorities respected it.

Without the support of in-depth studies, it is foolish to talk with confidence about the role of the immigrant church. But we do know that it served as a social anchor for the immigrant community and provided a multitude of services which later were to be delivered by the welfare state.

In any discussion of immigrants and church, however, it would be a serious error to ignore its failings. For many years the Catholic hierarchy did not move with dispatch to meet the social and economic needs of immigrants. The same holds true of its reluctance to support the labor movement or progressive community leaders and politicians who fought for reforms.

Today one can find priests and nuns playing a critical role in community organizations and development efforts in East European center-city neighborhoods. Father Martin Hernady, who is the pastor of St. Stephan's Roman Catholic Church in East Toledo's predominantly Hungarian Birmingham neighborhood, has helped to develop a community organization which has checked spreading urban blight and outmigration. He has demonstrated that priests and nuns can help parishioners cope with government programs (such as urban renewal) and private actions (such as "redlining") which are destroying their neighborhoods.

Unfortunately, in other East European center-city and suburban parishes, many of the clergy cling to the outmoded view that their mission is to serve only the spiritual needs of their flock. In many cities, the church hierarchy has mixed feelings about "ethnic parishes" and community action. As a consequence, housing, employment, health, and youth-related problems are neglected, thereby hastening the decline of East European neighborhoods and denying help to needy persons.

Robert E. Park, the University of Chicago's grand old man of urban sociology, noted over fifty years ago: "Other language groups bring to this country the cultures of peasant peoples. The Jew brings a civilization." In the face of persistent acts of oppression, whole

families — in some cases the population of entire villages — set out for the New World. These immigrants had no intention of ever returning to the inhospitable milieu they left behind; America would become their new home.

Unlike the gentiles processed through Ellis Island, Jews from all sectors of the Old World community emigrated — the rabbi, the small shopkeeper, the artisan, the banker, the intellectual, the labor leader, and the political agitator — the basis for the establishment of a viable Jewish community in the United States.

The crucial element in the success of the American Jewish community was the presence of large numbers of educated persons, including emigre intellectuals and immigrant children who, in the span of a generation, rose via a college education into the professions. Together with labor leaders and political activists who had earned their spurs fighting European autocracy, the intellectual and professional provided the skills and leadership which enabled Jewish organizations to work effectively within the American political system.

In the East European Catholic community, there was no comparable leadership available in large numbers. The Poles, Czechs, Ukranians, Lithuanians and Hungarians who enjoyed social status in Europe — the privileged, educated middle class — did not leave. Educated nationalists who could not tolerate living under the heel of a foreign master, political radicals who had been hounded from their homeland, and dissenters who sought religious freedom did accompany their largely ignorant peasant countrymen to the United States, but they represented only a tiny slice of the Catholic immigrant community. Furthermore the emigre nationalists and radicals viewed themselves as exiles. After World War I, when their nations became independent, many returned to Europe.

Even without a large educated middle class to provide leadership, however, the East Europeans formed organizations to serve the community; the family alone could not meet the immigrants' needs nor could the church. Wherever East Europeans sank roots, self-help organizations mushroomed. Every community formed burial societies, mutual health groups, and other associations which for five or ten cents a week protected members against illness and unemployment, and provided for a proper burial.

In some cases, village societies, fraternal associations, religious groups, or nationalist organizations were the basis for these activities. Later some would become part of the national federations or be superseded by larger organizations such as the Polish National Alliance, but few of these organizations had a national agenda. Today there are

mumerous East European ethnic organizations, but the older traditional ones — the "fraternals" — have not demonstrated discernible interest in treating social and economic problems. They serve rather as social and cultural organizations sponsoring dances, song fests, and other events that contribute to the solidarity of their members but ignore many serious problems facing them.

There is, however, a new breed of ethnic leaders and action-oriented organizations which has appeared in East European communities. Congresswoman Barbara Mikulski of Baltimore and the Southeast Community Organization (SECO) are noteworthy examples. SECO, which Ms. Mikulski helped build, is a community organization serving the multi-ethnic (and multi-racial) residents of Southeast Baltimore, enabling them to deal with housing, health, youth, and other problems which threaten their neighborhoods.

Politics

Emigre nationalists and radicals were among the most politically sophisticated members of the East European community in America and they wielded considerable influence until the end of World War I. Afterwards they faded before pragmatic ethnic politicians who adhered to an agenda shaped by the realities of the New and not the Old World.

The settler power structure accepted the established political order and, by manipulating ethnic pride — and nativist prejudice — mobilized their people into voting blocs with the ethnic organizations providing the infrastructure for political expression. As the East Europeans multiplied, and as their leaders acquired political acumen, the Irish were forced to let them become part of urban political machines. (In cases in which Irish Democratic leaders refused to make room, some new immigrants turned to the Republican Party.)

It was through the political machines that vast numbers of East Europeans were introduced into the American political system, acquired political influence, and derived economic advantages through patronage and public-related business endeavors. Yet they were slow to gain political influence proportionate to their numbers.

The Irish dominated urban political organizations long after they became a minority in the electorate because the East Europeans did not share a common language, did not enjoy politically adroit leadership, and were divided by Old World feuds which they had transported to the United States. According to a Chicago politican, "A Lithuanian won't vote for a Pole, and a Pole won't vote for a Lithua-

nian. A German won't vote for either of them — but all three will vote for . . . — an Irishman." Consequently, "in wards where there was no one ethnic group (which) had a clear majority," the Irish usually provided the most acceptable compromise candidate. The Poles have been the largest white ethnic group in Chicago for several generations, yet they have had to settle for Irish control of the city and surrounding Cook County.

Ironically, however, the politician who showed the Irish Catholics in Chicago how to mold the Catholic and Jewish immigrants in that city into a powerful political force was a Czech, Anton Cermak. His parents brought him to America from his native Bohemia at an early age. After living for a while in the Pilsen area of Chicago, the Cermaks moved to an Illinois coal-mining town where Anton became a leader of a predominantly Irish teen-age gang before he joined his father in the pits. Upon his return to Chicago, he established himself as a powerful politician in the Czech community. He led a coalition of Catholics and Jews who opposed a Protestant-sponsored prohibition campaign and built a multi-ethnic political organization that propelled him into Chicago's City Hall, where he reigned until he was assassinated while sharing a speaking platform with the newly-elected President, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Did Cermak succeed because of his own unique political talents, or did his being a Czech have something to do with his success? Some political observers cite the importance of the latter factor. According to one of his biographers, Cermak's rise — apart from his personal attributes — was due to his being a member of a small but proud ethnic group which did not suffer the self-hate so common among the new immigrants. Many Czechs were freethinkers or Protestants, and those who were Catholic were less subservient to their clergy than was true, for example, of the Poles. An independent democratic spirit pervaded the Czech community — not a customary facet of immigrant life. Perhaps because of these special circumstances, Cermak became the first Catholic East European politican to become mayor of a major American city.

In the late 1920's, millions of newly-naturalized Catholic immigrants and their children began to vote. They gave a majority of their votes in the 1928 Presidential race to Democrat Al Smith, son of Catholic immigrant parents. Later they did the same for FDR, who gave their political leaders much-sought-after recognition and initiated New Deal programs which lightened the burden working people had to bear. The Irish Catholics were the principal beneficiaries of the Democratic Party's victories but Poles, Lithuanians,

Czechs, and other East Europeans associated with local Democratic organizations also got "a piece of the action" flowing from Washington to their cities and districts in the form of Federal programs.

Of larger importance to the average East European ethnic working family, however, was the rise of the CIO, which mobilized industrial workers into an effective political and economic force and involved them with a political agenda that stressed health, housing, social security, and employment programs which the political machines had supported only when it was convenient for them to do so. In the face of liberal New Dealers and progressives in the CIO, machine politicians henceforth had to endorse such legislation lest they alienate their constituents.

In the aftermath of the Second World War, the machine politicians reaffirmed their old alliances with the business-minded trade unionists — principally those in the building trades — and struck bargains with progressives in the CIO whose clout dwindled as they were hounded from the labor movement during the Cold War era.

Changes sweeping across the urban North, however, eroded the urban machines: white flight to the suburbs, black inmigration, the New Deal, and socio-economic mobility among their constituents all contributed to their decline. In many places, the East European politicos who had waited patiently to fill the posts the Irish had occupied, discovered that urban blight, racial strife, and economic dislocations were destroying their cities.

At the same time, it was in the economic interest of many ethnic politicians and their friends to support or ignore government programs and profit-making endeavors which were destroying their own neighborhoods. In some cities, the ethnic machine politicians perceived Federal social welfare and community development programs as black patronage or as a threat to themselves politically. In others, they turned their backs on programs which could have helped stabilize their old neighborhoods because they clung to an outmoded political agenda, one that served the machine and its friends but ignored problems afflicting entire communities.

It is against this backdrop that a new breed of community activists and politicians has begun to make its appearance in East European neighborhoods: men and women like Father Hernady, the driving force behind the Birmingham Community Organization, and Congresswoman Barbara Mikulski of SECO. It is too early to determine whether these people and others like them will save and revitalize their neighborhoods and whether they will compel politicians to accept wider citizen participation in the political process.

It is clear, however, that, contrary to claims that they are "conservatives" and "racists," the East European ethnics will continue to support progressive candidates and programs for the foreseeable future. Over the past forty years they have steadfastly supported Democratic candidates. According to study by the National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs, the representatives they have sent to Congress have achieved more (not less) liberal voting records then has the average representative or Senator. Even in 1972 when George McGovern failed to win fifty percent of the Catholic vote, the Poles gave him a majority of their ballots. And, in 1976, Jimmy Carter did better in East European districts than Gerald Ford did.

In 1971, the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) conducted a study to determine where various white ethnic and white Protestant groups stood on a range of issues. NORC's findings are instructive. For example, respondents were asked whether the government should use all its resources to eliminate poverty or whether it had "done too much" to fight this social evil. Among the Poles, 74 percent said that the government should use all its resources to eliminate poverty while only 11 percent said too much had been done already.

No other ethnic group was predisposed toward greater government anti-poverty efforts; for Anglo-Saxon Protestants, in comparison, the result was 43 percent favoring greater government efforts and 37 percent who said the government had "done too much." The Poles were also more inclined to distrust big business than Anglo-Saxon Protestants, further proving that they do not deserve a "conservative" label.

When the NORC investigators turned to "social issues" like crime and the use of drugs, the East Europeans were profoundly troubled by these, but so were other Americans, Protestant or Catholic, black or white. It is true that among white Americans in the metropolitan North, the Slavic Catholics scored one-half point lower than white Protestants in support of black demands for civil rights. But since the Slavic Catholics are more likely to live in urban areas where racial tensions run high and both they and blacks are victims of urban "benign neglect," it is unfair, on the basis of this finding, to infer that they are more "racist" than other white Americans.

Conclusion

The proportion of foreign-born members in East European ethnic communities is declining and members of the younger generation are

moving rapidly into the middle class. Nonetheless, Americans of East European descent continue to look at the world through the prism of an immigrant/working-class heritage. Many, perhaps most, of these people think of themselves as just ordinary Americans and not as "white ethnics" or "East Europeans"; still, they belong to one of many ethnic subcultures in the United States.

Even when factors such as education, income, and occupational status are controlled in surveys, East European ethnics express thoughts and actions different from similarly situated Americans on a range of social, economic, and political matters. The differences may not be dramatic, but they exist because of the shaping influence of shared ethnic values and experiences.

Indeed, if available evidence is any guide, it appears that younger, more socially mobile members of the East European community will articulate ethnic-related differences to a greater degree than do their parents. This does not mean that our multi-ethnic society will be torn asunder by heightened ethnic self-awareness or that demands will be made to give ethnic groups the corporate status that some enjoy in Europe. (There is no ethnic group in the United States, black or white, which is making such demands.)

It means simply that ethnicity is an important part of human existence, that East European ethnic intellectuals and professionals are in a position to talk and write about a heritage that many of their parents rejected, and that we need not fear ethnic discord as long as all ethnic groups in the United States have equal access to social, political, and economic opportunities.

Suggestions to Teachers

Teachers of students of East European descent who wish to deal effectively with their heritage should keep the following guidelines in mind:

Although the East European ethnics have much in common, they belong to several distinct groups, each of which has a unique history and a rich heritage. Each subculture has been shaped by Old World and New World values and experiences — hence, the rationale for the term "white ethnic," which is descriptive of an American phenomenon.

Some teachers and administrators may have to overcome ethnic stereotypes and ignorance about white ethnicity (as well as a belief that recognizing ethnic differences is socially divisive) if they are going to meet their students' needs and gain their respect. To compli-

cate matters further, educators will find a paucity of published material bearing on the smaller East European ethnic groups, while much of what is available will be of little use unless teachers do a considerable amount of reading and analysis on their own.

Like other white ethnic groups, the East Europeans share an immigrant/working class legacy. Courses and materials which accurately reflect the legacy first of all must cover the Old World culture, immigration, nativism, and the formation of white ethnic subcultures in the United States. In addition, they must treat the immigrant worker, the failure of the American Federation of Labor to pay proper attention to East European immigrants and their children, important strike actions involving them, the part they played in the rise of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and contemporary matters germane to working Americans of East European descent.

Educators seeking more information about teaching white ethnicity should contact (1) the National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs (1521 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036); (2) Dr. Richard J. Krickus (Dept. of Political Science, Mary Washington College, Fredericksburg, Va. 22401); and (3) educational agencies which, in some states and localities, have begun to develop curricula bearing on white ethnicity.*

Given the present paucity of data, it is risky to talk about behavior patterns peculiar to East European students and parents: whether parents will object to certain practices of the school; whether East European students will better respond to individual competition or to opportunities to work together cooperatively; and whether parents will encourage their children to excel in school. There may be unique ethnic group responses to these questions, but regional and social class variables also will come into play.

Educators who wish to work effectively with students in predominantly Polish, Czech, or Hungarian communities should confer with parents, community leaders, college teachers, clergymen and others who are knowledgeable about the community. This effort will provide educators not only with the kind of information that will help them serve their students well but also with a sensitivity that will help them achieve rapport with adult members of the community.

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*Other sources include the Balch Institute in Philadelphia, the Immigration History Research Center (Rudolf Vecoli, Director) in Minneapolis, and the Pennsylvania State Historical Archives in Harrisburg.

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THE AMERICAN INDIANS

By Patricia A. Locke, Anita B. Pfeiffer, Jack B. Ridley, Sharon M. Simon, and Henri Whiteman

Editor's Note: In some ways, this ethnic vignette is like most of the others in this volume. It was written by members of the ethnic group under discussion; and it stresses the wide diversity within that group.

There, however, the similarity ends. As the reader will notice, five authors are responsible for this article. Each represents one of the Indian tribes in the region of the United States being treated. Yet even having five authors is inadequate to indicate the great diversity of the more than 300 tribes presently in our country.

Moreover, the uniqueness of the American Indian experience has no exact parallel among those of the other ethnic groups included in this volume. In some aspects, the experiences of some Mexican Americans and some Black Americans do suggest parallels. But neither of these groups was *colonized* to the degree that has been true of the Indians. In addition, neither suffered efforts at *extermination* to the same extent.

Only if the reader bears in mind what happened to the men, women, and children who were on this continent when the white Europeans first came to our shores, can he fully understand the situation and needs of present-day American Indians.

One stark set of statistics illuminates that situation in bold relief: In 1492 there were at least eight million Indians in America (some estimates range as high as 75 million); in 1910 there were only about 220,000 Indians left in the United States. Current estimates of their number range from 700,000 to 1,000,000.

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Actual warfare against the Indians, it must be remembered, extended over four centuries: it was less than a hundred years ago that the United States Army finally forced the Indian tribes into submission.

Another instrument of Indian destruction was the forcible removal of tribes from their native lands to reservations, usually west of the Mississippi. Hundreds of thousands died of starvation and disease as they were forced to march thousands of miles to new areas. Particularly destructive was the march of the Cherokees from Georgia to Oklahoma, in 1838 and 1839, that became known as the "Trail of Tears."

Equally disastrous with this physical destruction was the cultural destruction which accompanied it — and which continued in government schools and on reservations as often well-intentioned but misguided white men and women, in accordance with U.S. Government policy, tried to "civilize the heathens."

Fortunately this tide has begun to turn. Moving with the waves of civil rights reform and the war against poverty, Indians are beginning to take the lead in their cultural and economic revival. The authors of the article which follows all are playing an important part in this revival — particularly in the area of education. They highlight what Indians are doing, and what teachers can do, to help restore American Indians to their rightful place in their native land.

INTRODUCTION

Throughout the United States today the descendants of our continent's original Indian inhabitants are now experiencing a significant revival. Although the nature and extent of the renascence may vary from tribe to tribe and reservation to reservation, most share at least in a revival of hope. American Indians today comprise more than 300

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tribes and speak 252 different languages. Because space does not permit detailed treatment of all of these tribes, those that are included are grouped by geographic region.

In addition to linguistic differences, cultural characteristics vary greatly among the many tribes. Even neighboring tribes may have totally different world views, complex belief systems, social structures, governance and political systems, oral histories, ceremonies, arts, music, dance, and material cultures. Sex and age behavior expectations also differ widely among the tribes.

Thus, teachers can no more adopt a single teaching strategy for children of the many culturally-different Indian tribes than they can adopt a single teaching strategy for students of any ancestry. It may help the teacher to recognize this diversity if he thinks of Alaskan Eskimos and Florida Seminoles in America as comparable in geographic separation to Laplanders and Sicilians in Europe.

Since the mid-1960's there has been an overt resurgence of pride among American Indians. It may seem remarkable that this tribal pride has endured and persisted in spite of over four hundred years of systematic attempts by the government and other groups to destroy the tribes and their cultures, especially their belief systems. One might conclude that such tenacity is a result of the intrinsic beauty and validity of the tribal cultures.

Many Indian people feel an obligation, as hosts of this continent, to offer as gifts to our guests certain kinds of knowledge of the Beauty Way. Sensitive and perceptive teachers of Indian children will find that a two-way exchange of knowledge and information can be most satisfying.

Tribal people often teach their children that they must learn two paths of knowledge. One is the path of the *tribal-specific culture, including value systems* which often are diametrically opposed to the value systems of the dominant society. The Indian child will be

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inclined to accept this tribal-specific path of knowledge as the good and right way of knowledge for him — or her — as a tribal member. The second path to be learned is *that of the dominant society* where the value systems (intrinsic to contemporary non-Indian America) of individualism, acquisitiveness and mercantilism prevail. These latter values must be learned by Indian children as social and economic survival skills and not as values to be internalized. The Indian values of concern for the group, and generosity and disdain for material possessions are reinforced constantly in tribal ceremonies. Youngsters are expected to emulate persons who exemplify such values.

It is difficult for Indian children to learn and to sort out simultaneously two different value systems, especially when school curricula, the media, and teacher behavior and attitudes usually give positive valences to the dominant culture's value systems. A sensitive teacher will realize the dichotomy inherent in formal schooling that an Indian child must face and will present fairly both tribal and societal values. The teacher needs to be still more sensitive to differences when there are children from several different tribes within a single class. In such cases, it would seem appropriate to emphasize cross-cultural similarities.

It is important to realize that many Indian children are successfully learning both cultures solely in their tribal languages on some remote cultural enclaves. These fortunate children experience the delight of hearing teachers speak to them, for example, in Yupik Eskimo, Navajo and Miccosukee, the languages of their parents, grandparents, and extended families. Their grade-level achievement surpasses those of less fortunate children who are forced to learn a foreign language (English) in the early grades. In many situations, a bilingual approach is necessary. This need becomes clear when one realizes that 85 percent of Navajo children start school with no knowledge of English. Exercising their rights as educational

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Each of the authors contributed to the section on General Observations. In addition, Anita Pfeiffer prepared the material on the Southwest, Jack Ridley on Alaska and the Western States, Sharon Simon on the Eastern Seaboard and Great Lakes, and Henri(etta) Whiteman on the Central States. Patricia Locke served as the coordinator and special editor of this section.

decision-makers, parents and tribal leaders have chosen this bilingual path as the desired approach for their children.

Teachers of Indian children also must realize that Indians are *dual citizens*. They are citizens of their tribes, which have a semi-sovereign status through treaties and by virtue of the United States Constitution. In addition, since 1924 when American Indians became citizens of the United States, they have been entitled to all educational and related services. Indian tribes traded the majority of their vast land holdings in exchange for education, health and other services which the United States agreed it has a moral obligation to provide "as long as the grass shall grow." Indian tribes, as an aspect of their sovereignty, have a legal right to be accorded a different status than are "communities" of other citizens. These differences are important for teachers to understand as they teach about Indian rights and relationships with the U.S. Government.

Teachers of Indian children have a challenging task if they wish to teach with understanding, compassion, and knowledge. The teacher must be willing to accept and appreciate values and perceptions of the world that differ from their own. As we have pointed out, the American Indian has different concepts of time, of space, and of an individual's relationship to the universe and to other creatures in the world — two-legged, four-legged, winged, finned and crawling, and to the ones that are rooted in the earth.

The teacher of Indian children must suspend his ethnocentrism and seek to learn about his students from the leaders and adult members of a tribe. If a teacher in an urban setting finds that tribal elders are not available, he or she should read about his students' tribes and talk to their parents and grandparents. The National Indian Education Association (NIEA) Project Media publishes catalogues which annotate over 3,500 relevant books, teaching kits and other printed materials, as well as over 500 films, filmstrips, records, tapes and other non-printed materials about Indians. (The NIEA is located at 1115 Second Avenue South, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55403.)

Unfortunately, most teachers of Indian children have not been equipped with appropriate pre-service or academic training to provide them with the competencies that are needed to teach culturally- and linguistically-diverse Indian children. As a result, the responsible teacher must design his or her own in-service training program. The teacher should aim to achieve an understanding of tribal cultural and linguistic diversity, the resurgence and tenacity of tribal cultural pride, the validity of tribal-specific value and belief systems, the dichotomy of Indian and non-Indian cultural values, and the utiliza-

tion of parents, tribal elders, and books to learn about specific tribal cultures.

As you read the following sections of this article which describe tribes from the major geographical areas of our country, it is hoped that your curiosity will be challenged and that you will read further and learn how to "walk the path of the Beauty Way."

SOME GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

There is a great gap between the realities of the American Indian world and the myths and misconceptions which traditionally have been presented in accounts written by white historians. These accounts generally have focused on war-like struggles and have used them as a basis for presenting concepts of American Indian character, philosophy, and way of life.

Before the advent of white "civilization," little is known through the literature about what kind of person the American Indian was. In his account to his sponsors of his first landing in America, Christopher Columbus said of the American Indians, "I swear to your majesties that there is not a better people in the world than these; more affectionate, mild and affable. They love their neighbors as themselves. Their language is the sweetest, the softest, and the most cheerful for they always speak smiling."

Surely, this picture is not consistent with the familiar portrayal of violent, tormented natives who were continually scalping, burning, and torturing the white man.

When the Indians did fight the white man, it was because the conflict was forced upon them. The aggressors were the whites, and the concept of Manifest Destiny* was developed to justify the aggression. Every method and means was utilized in the long struggle to dispossess the Indian from his lands. On occasion, the Indians won temporarily or were able to compromise or restrain white aggression long enough to bargain for restoration of part of their own land. Although Indians suffered tremendously and their cultures did experience great changes, the white man's impact, with all of its technological superiority, aggressiveness, and zeal to conquer and refashion Indians in the white image, did not fully or finally end Indian life.

*"Manifest Destiny" is a phrase that was coined before the Mexican-American War to express expansionist sentiment in the United States to extend U.S. sovereignty from the Atlantic to the Pacific and even to the islands in the Caribbean.

Prior to Anglo-European contact, this Turtle Island — as some tribes named America — was inhabited by culturally diverse tribal peoples, who today are referred to as "American Indians." The name has been accepted as a permanent misnomer after Christopher Columbus so named the natives he found here in the belief that he was in the Indies.

Spread over this wide country, now as in 1492, there are more than 300 individual tribes, speaking a number of languages classified into eleven distinct linguistic groups. Because space limitations do not permit individual treatment, they are considered in this volume according to the major regions in which they live.

Emergence Accounts

Handed down through an oral tradition, there is a different account of each tribe's emergence or origin – or, as one might say, the creation of the world. This view of creation colors much of the tribe's world view. These accounts do not jibe with anthropological theories of Indian migration from Asia over the Bering Straits to Alaska, down the Pacific Coast through the Northwest and California, and eventually to the Southwest (and Mexico, Central and South America). Whatever the scientific explanation, the meaning that carries cultural significance for Indian tribes are the traditional beliefs, such as the illustrations which follow.

For example, the Cheyenne account starts with the Creator who ordered water, light, sky and air, and created the water peoples. He asked the assistance of the water peoples in creating land. After three unsuccessful attempts on their part, the lowly coot dived to the bottom of the salty water, bringing up a ball of mud which was placed on the back of grandmother turtle. Under the power of the Creator's hands, this ball expanded to become the earth, our grandmother or mother. Taking dirt or mud, the Creator made a human being, blew breath into this being's mouth, and gave it life.

Another example is the Hopi tradition:

> The Grand Canyon in Arizona is a place of awe for the Hopi Indians because deep in the bottom of the gorge is the original *sipapu*, the mystic opening which links the world of the living and the world of the dead. The Hopis believe that they emerged from the Underworld at this sacred place. Mythically, the dying Hopis return to this chasm as wisps of vapor drifting downward into the canyon on their return to the Underworld. The Hopis who formerly ventured to the bottom of the canyon to bring back salt (a deposit which is found near the sipapu)

returned with eerie tales. For example, if one passed just before rounding the last bend to the sipapu, the laughter and singing of happy people could be heard. However, as one approached it, the voices faded away and only the sound of the river remained. (Barton Wright, *The Unchanging Hopi*. Flagstaff, Arizona: Northland, 1975, p. 6.)

And the Navajos:

> The Navajos believe they emerged through four worlds. At the beginning, there was a place called the Black World where only spirit people and Holy People lived . . . . Man was not in his present shape and the creatures living in the First World were thought of as Mist Beings. Then Altse Hastiin (First Man) and Altse Asdzaa (First Woman) were formed. The Second World was the Blue World where many blue-feathered Beings lived. The journey continued to the Third World — The Yellow World; in this world small animals lived — the Spider People, the lizards, and snakes. The group then emerged into the Fourth World — the Glittering World — through a great female reed. The place of emergence is called *Hajinnei*. In the Fourth World, the First Man and First Woman formed the four main sacred mountains from the soil that First Man had gathered from the mountains in the Third World. (Ethelou Yazzie, ed. *Navajo History*. Tsaille, Arizona: Navajo Community College, 1971, pp. 9–17.)

Creation and/or emergence accounts are not alone in tying together the human and spiritual. Sweet Medicine, a Cheyenne prophet, is reported to have predicted the coming of the white man. He foretold the arrival of "good-looking, light-haired and white-skinned people" who would come "from where the sun rises." They would be a numerous, aggressive people who would be seeking gold, and they would bring "strange gifts such as flashing objects." Sweet Medicine said that they would decimate with a loud and deadly weapon the buffalo and other animals given by the Creator. He predicted war between the Cheyenne and the newcomers, with the loss of Cheyenne children to the ways of the new people. Finally, he noted with a heavy heart that his people would become crazy, and desecrate Mother Earth along with the white people, and forget his teachings.

Despite such prophecies, American Indians initially welcomed the white immigrants from across the water. However, early Anglo-European contact was marked by continuous dislocation of tribal peoples and other tragedies that Sweet Medicine foretold.

Maintenance of Identity

Despite white society's efforts to eradicate the Indian culture, American Indians have kept up the struggle to maintain their identity, their world views, their ways of life, and some portion of the land in which their identity is deeply rooted.

As Indian country has survived the onslaught of civilization, so has the concept of "Indian-ness." Many cultural elements are still vigorously present and persist — such as traditional systems of governance, arts, oral traditions, language, belief systems, and other aspects of national culture.

American Indians have struggled to gain a social and economic foothold in a national political economy that historically has rejected them. In doing so, they have been forced to encounter problems that are unique to their ethnic group. For example, of all American minorities, they are the only persons born in the United States who were denied citizenship until 1924. And this in their own homeland!

Native American tribes suffered conquest in their homeland under the theory of "manifest destiny." However, they have treaties and special relationships with the Federal Government which maintain their status as sovereign or semi-sovereign nations.

Current Problems

The majority of the Indian people have not found it easy to adjust to the social or economic structures of the dominant white society. Indians have been forced to live within a society which is both philosophically and historically alien to them.

The great Lakota chief, Sitting Bull, expressed his thoughts on this problem of adjustment as follows: " . . . I am a red man. If the Great Spirit had desired me to be a white man he would have made me so in the first place. He put in your heart certain wishes and plans; in my heart he put other and different desires. Each man is good in his sight. It is not necessary for eagles to be crows. Now we are poor but we are free. No white man controls our footsteps . . . "

Until recently, the Indian has not been permitted to control his own destiny. On the contrary, the Federal Government has dictated a policy which has vacillated to include genocide, assimilation, and acculturation. From earliest Colonial times, Indians have not been permitted any variation from a prescribed path. Only recently has self-determination become an explicit policy.

Here is the way government policy was articulated by the Com-

missioner of Indian Affairs in 1889: "The reservation system belongs to the past, Indians must be absorbed intc our national life, not as Indians but as American citizens, the Indian must be individualized . . . the Indian must conform to the white man's ways, peaceably if they will, forceably if they must . . .."

In spite of adversity as well as vast and seemingly unsurmountable obstacles, the Indian continues to live, and in most instances survive, most vigorously and brilliantly. Today, more than ever before, leadership of a high quality exists among Indian people in the areas of education, health, social services, and economic development. To upgrade the quality of life of their people, Indian laymen, scholars, professionals, artists, historians, linguists, and religious leaders all are striving with great zeal and singleness of purpose.

Bureau of Indian Affairs

In 1824, Congress established the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) within the War Department, giving it responsibility for Indian relations. The Bureau was transferred to the Department of Interior when that department was organized in 1849, and BIA remains there today as a Federal agency.

Headed by a commissioner, BIA is obligated to provide varying services to Indian tribes. These include many services which non-Indians receive from state and local governments. Each of BIA's functions — such as social service and education (including boarding schools) — is the responsibility of an assistant commissioner. The BIA has offices (called agencies) on Indian reservations, which in turn report, and are responsible, to Area Offices which are responsible to the Bureau of Indian Affairs Office in Washington, D.C.

Health Services are now provided to Indians by the United States Public Health Service. This responsibility was transferred from the BIA to the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare jurisdiction in 1955. As Alan L. Sorkin commented in *American Indians and Federal Aid* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1971):

> It was thought that Public Health Service would have greater success in recruiting physicians to work on reservations, partly because of higher salaries and better fringe benefits. Furthermore, Congress was not as hostile to HEW appropriations as to those of the BIA. Indian health has improved substantially in the decade and a half since that time, largely because of increased appropriations, which tripled on a

per [capita] basis between 1955 and 1966. With few exceptions, reservation Indians are entitled to comprehensive medical care free of charge if they are of one-fourth or more Indian blood.

Agricultural development also is sponsored by the BIA. These extension services were transferred to the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) in the late 1950's, but funds for the program still are provided by the BIA on a contractual basis.

Other services provided by the BIA are: industrial development, roads, natural resources development, manpower development, property and income management, welfare services and various housing improvement programs.

There is a housing crisis among Indians — more than three-quarters of reservation housing is substandard; half of it is beyond repair. Educational achievement and levels of health are far below those of the general population. Agricultural productivity of the reservations is low; industrial development is proceeding too slowly to keep up with employment and consumer needs.

BIA employment assistance programs are minimally effective, having a minor impact on reservation economies. Forced termination of Federal responsibility for Indian tribes is widely opposed by significant numbers of Indians and has been found to be an unwise policy, but states with large Indian and non-Indian populations are unwilling to assume financial responsibility for certain Indian welfare services. To improve the lot of the Indians in all these respects will require new policies, changes in old policies, and increased government appropriations.

One of the most important BIA functions has been in the area of education. Initial efforts to extirpate Indian cultures have given way to a more enlightened pluralism. Today there are various degrees to which the BIA has allowed the members of various tribes to make their own educational decisions. In numerous instances, programs are initiated by members of these tribes. However, instead of providing technical assistance, the various bureaucracies often have thrown the burden of development on the tribes, through complex rules, regulations, and technical jargon which often require the assistance of an attorney to unravel their meaning.

With headquarters in Denver, Colorado, the Coalition of Indian Controlled School Boards has been set up to give technical assistance to Indian schools. Its membership totals more then 160 schools, parent committees, and organizations.

Beginning in July, 1976, American Indians were amazed to be

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asked to participate in planning BIA educational programs. Response throughout Indian country was widespread; *i.e.*, Indians attended several meetings to take part in reorganization of the BIA educational structure. Another cause for hope and new vitality at the BIA has been the implementation of the Indian preference policy in hiring. Significant numbers of Indians had not been employed at high levels previously. However, beginning in the early 1970's, Indians were appointed at professional levels. This increase has caused Indians to have more confidence in the Bureau because of the presence of Indian professionals at the decision-making level.

The BIA is still the only agency which assures Indians of guaranteed financial resources because of the Federal trust relationship. On November 30–December 1, 1976, over 60 Indian leaders met at a conference sponsored by the Western Interstate Commission on Higher Education and made the statement that "BIA must assume and retrieve the primary responsibility for the delivery of all educational services to American Indians including student financial aids. This assumption of full responsibility will promote and reinforce the inherent sovereign status of American Indian tribal governments through the recognition of established treaties between the U.S. Government and the Federally recognized tribes."

Significant Legislation

Since the end of open conflict at Wounded Knee in 1890, Indian history has been marked by a series of Congressional legislative acts and policy statements. Early legislation by the U.S. Congress was assimilationist in purpose, attempting to coerce Indians into the American mainstream and to turn them away from tribal cultures. Recent enactments have been more pluralistic in tone. These include the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924; the Indian Reorganization Act and the Johnson O'Malley Acts of 1934; creation in 1946 of the Indian Claims Commission; House Concurrent Resolution 108 adopted in 1953; President Nixon's 1970 Indian policy statement; the 1972 passage of the Indian Education Act (Title IV, PL 92–318); and the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975 (PL93–638).

The Indian Education Act gave decision-making powers to Indian boards. The Indian Self-Determination Act is a landmark for tribal decision making. These two acts provided for tribal self-government; appropriated funds for meeting the unique needs of Indian children; created a mechanism to correct injustices through

compensation; terminated treaty relationships; and, finally established a means for tribal self-determination.

Spiritual World Views (Religion)

Spurred on by the depth of their own convictions, Christian missions acted as agents in destroying American Indian cultures. Although introduction of Christianity on this continent caused many of the native ceremonials and rituals to go underground, the missions did not succeed in their aim of assimilating the Indians and eradicating their religion. This is evidenced today by the Plains Indians, who have been the vanguard for the renascence of the Sun Dance, which was prohibited by the United States Government during the period from 1904 to 1935. Indians of several tribes also attend and support their Native American church which has a membership of over 225,000. Other tribal religions are flourishing and are valid in their own right.

The Indian Ecumenical Conference which has been held annually since 1968 on the Stoney Indian Reserve (a Dakota reservation in Morley, Alberta, Canada) offers additional evidence of the great rebirth of the belief systems of Indian peoples in the United States, Mexico, and Canada. Men and women, singers, healers, holy men, herbalists, and philosophers and others representing tribes from throughout this continent attend so that the core of tribal beliefs can be transmitted to the younger members by their elders. This gathering insures the vitality and the very essence of tribal cultures — religion — and attests to the strength of American Indian belief systems. This conference makes it clear that American Indians are not acculturated, and that they nurture a deep and continuing sense of tribal identity.

Adaptation, Survival and Renewal

Despite governmental policies of displacement and relocation to urban, metropolitan areas, American Indian tribes continue to adapt and modify their tribal cultures to accommodate to the contemporary situation. It is a reality that American Indians no longer can live as before because of geographic relocation; however, in view of the importance of the family structure and because Indian cultures are dynamic, surrogate extended families have been created.

American Indian tribal groups are creative. Consider, for example, the large encampments of tribes such as that of the Lakota Cheyenne, and Arapaho at the Little Big Horn. Here they perform

ceremonials, share spiritual gifts, and socialize, getting together for sheer pleasure. This is a continuing phenemenon also illustrated by the camps of the Indian Exposition at Anadarko, Oklahoma, and of the Crow Fair at Crow Agency, Montana. These gatherings are an echo of the great encampments that were a routine aspect of Indian life. They demonstrate intertribal appreciation and the recognition of cultural differences.

Differences in languages, customs and traditions are found in many Indian families today. There is much tribal intermarriage, facilitated by friendships made in the government boarding school system, which includes Carlisle Institute, Haskell Indian Junior College, and the Institute of American Indian Arts.

Education, in general, is taking a multicultural-multilingual or bicultural-bilingual direction. This is evidenced especially by the curricula of the Rocky Boy's School on the Rocky Boy's Reservation in Montana and of the Institute of the Southern Plains at Hammon, Oklahoma. In addition, there are some sixteen tribally chartered colleges, such as those on the Lakota and Dakota reservations in North and South Dakota. Cultural knowledge and lifeways also are slowly being incorporated into the curriculum of the American public school system.

All of this activity reaffirms the fact that American Indian cultures are dynamic, and that they fully represent the vitality of a continually evolving people of diverse tribal backgrounds who reside in many parts of the United States.

TRIBES OF THE EASTERN AND SOUTHERN STATES, AND THE GREAT LAKES AREA

In the area of the United States where the original inhabitants first met the white man, there has been the greatest dislocation. Approximately a quarter of a million Indians now live east of the Mississippi River but they are the least known and the least visible Indians in the United States. Only three of the seventy-plus communities in this group have Federally recognized status. A few tribes live on state-recognized reservations but most have no reservation at all.

Indian country, however, still manages to survive even though it is a patchwork quilt of tribal lands which were bought back or reverted to various tribes after the Indian Reorganization Act and Indian trust allotments. In some cases, white-owned resorts and vacation cabins sit on leased Indian lands. In the state of Maine, for example,

some of the lushest present-day honeymoon havens occupy the lands of Indian tribes.

Early Tribal Groups

From the days of the first frontier, Indians were one of the principal determinants of historical events. The tribal peoples of New England and the eastern seaboard Algonquins were the largest linguistic family on the East Coast, stretching from what is now Maine to Virginia and straddling the Canadian border to the Rockies.

The Iroquois family, probably the most powerful in the area, occupied most of the St. Lawrence region, the basins of Lake Ontario and Erie, the southern coast of Lake Huron, all of New York, central Pennsylvania, the shores of the Chesapeake Bay and parts of Tennessee, Virginia and the Carolinas.

Often included among the Indians of New England were those of the "Woodlands" or members of the Siouan family and the Muskogean group (Choctaws, Seminoles, Chickasaws, and the Ojibway). Twenty or more tribes of Maine made up the Abnaki Confederacy. The more significant tribes were the Micmacs, Passamaquoddy, and the Penobscots. Today, these tribes live on reservations exchanged for all of what is now the State of Maine. (Maine is one of the states in which action is under way to adjudicate land claims.)

The Penacook Confederacy of New Hampshire included thirteen other tribes and the Penacooks themselves. A few Penacooks still live in New Hampshire near Manchester.

The state of Massachusetts is named for the Massachusetts Indians who occupied the Massachusetts Bay Territory in the early 17th century. This tribe also owned and occupied what is now Boston. A few Pequat Indians still occupy their own lands in part of Connecticut and there are some Mohegans near Norwich.

Where Are the Eastern and Great Lakes Indians Now?

In Rhode Island, two groups of Narragansetts live in Washington and Providence counties. The most visible concentration of Indian populations in New York may be found on several reservations.

Descendants of tribes which once occupied the Great Lakes region, or were moved into this area from the eastern seaboard, live today on more than twenty-five reservations or small tracts of trust land in the states of Minnesota, Michigan, and Wisconsin. In Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio, there are other remnants of tribes who do not live

on reservations and are not under any supervisory agency. Some descendants of the Miami tribe still live in Indiana.

In the Upper Great Lakes region, Minnesota now has the largest Indian population — more than 15,000; Wisconsin has more than 14,000; and in Michigan there are about 10,000. More than 11,000 Chippewas live on Minnesota reservations. There also are three Sioux tribes living in southern Minnesota. In Wisconsin, there are ten reservations and a population of Chippewas and Oneidas as well as Winnebagos, Potawatomis and Stockbridge-Munsees.

The Menominees, numbering some 3,000, comprise most of the population of the county of Menominee in Michigan. The Menominees have achieved complete restoration of Federal recognition. Indians in Michigan include more than 1,000 Chippewas living on small tracts of land in the Bay Mills, Isabella, and Keenewa Bay communities. There also are a few Potawatomis as well as some Ottawas living in Michigan.

The majority of the Indians in Florida reside on or near four reservations: Big Cypress, Brighton, Hollywood, and a new Miccosukee community on the Tamiami Trail.

Today, near Philadelphia, Mississippi, live most of the remaining Choctaws, once the most numerous tribe in the Mississippi-Alabama region. Some Creek Indians live in southern Alabama.

The Cherokee people originally occupied vast sections of land in the states of North and South Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, Georgia and Alabama. However, as with so many other tribes, war, disease, and deliberate dislocation diminished the Cherokees as well. With the Treaty of New Echota, there followed the tragic period of the "Trail of Tears" during which 14,000 Cherokees began the forced march to a new Indian territory in what is now the state of Oklahoma. At the time of the removal decreed by President Jackson, a number of the tribe fled to the mountains to survive as the present-day Cherokees in North Carolina. This eastern band of Cherokees comprises the largest single group of Indians in North Carolina and is the state's only Federally recognized tribe. There are several other vestigial tribes such as the Lumbees and Cubans, but none of these are recognized Federally by the Department of the Interior.

Two Eastern Tribal Cultures

The diversity among tribal cultures is illustrated by the differences between two tribes, both of which are in the same geographic region.

The Iroquois. From the early colonial period, the Iroquois Confederacy and the motivating spirit of its great leader, Deganawida, set the tone of a quest for universal peace that the white man still searches for today. Deganawida had a vision of a great spruce tree with its top reaching through the sky to the land of the master of life. The tree stood for the sisterhood of all tribes, and its roots were the original Iroquois nations.

Deganawida visualized the "Great Peace," a kind of world federation, as follows:

> I, Deganawida, and the Confederated Chiefs, now uproot the tallest pine tree, and into the cavity thereby made we cast all weapons of war. Into the depths of the earth, deep down into the underearth currents of water flowing to unknown regions, we cast all weapons of strife. We bury them from sight and we plant again the tree. Thus shall the Great Peace be established.

The teaching of the Iroquois league was idealistic and religious and its members were instructed to practice three pairs of principles: (1) health of body and mind, and peace among individuals and tribes; (2) right conduct, thought and justice, and respect for human rights; and (3) preparedness for defense, and keeping and increasing the spiritual power, known as *orenda.*

Deganawida's first follower was Hiawatha, whom tradition credits with the principal role in creating a working league. Faced with the original resistance of the Onondaga chief, Totadaho, Hiawatha united the Onondagas, the Senecas, the Cayugas, the Oneidas, and the Mohawks into a true union — the League of the Iroquois. In the 18th century, they were joined by the Tuscarora tribe, which moved north from Cherokee country. This strong League is still functioning today.

The Cherokees. While the Iroquois furnished the spirit for universal peace, the Cherokee nation furnished the foundation for government policy and action in Indian affairs. They met every test in trying to negotiate and keep peace with the United States Government. As with other tribes, however, the Federal Government consistently and repeatedly breached its treaties, both in the spirit and in the letter of the law. Despite this, the Cherokees made progress on their own, under the leadership of one of their great men, Sequoyah, who invented an alphabet that helped the Cherokee to become literate. Not only did the Cherokees write a constitution but they also established a legislature, judiciary, and an executive branch of governance.

Indian life in the East has survived and now reflects a world in

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which many aspects of conquered peoples and nations have begun to change. In many ways there is no longer an all-controlling force that dictates how, where and under what conditions American Indians may fulfill their tribal and individual purposes in life.

TRIBES OF THE CENTRAL STATES

In this section, there will be a general overview of the American Indian tribes currently located in the central states region: Iowa, Kansas, Montana, Nebraska, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Dakota, and Wyoming.

Residing within this area are the following major tribes:

Kansas, Nebraska and Iowa: Iowa, Kickapoo, Omaha, Ponca, Potawatomi, Sac and Fox, Sioux, and Winnebago.

Montana: Assiniboine, Blackfeet, Chippewa, Cree, Crow, Gros Ventre (Atsina), Kootenai, Northern Cheyenne, Salish, and Sioux.

North and South Dakota: Arikara, Chippewa, Dakota/Lakota (Sioux), Hidatsa, and Mandan.

Oklahoma: Arapaho, Caddo, Cherokee, Cheyenne, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Comanche, Creek, Delaware, Iowa, Kaw (Kansas), Kickapoo, Kiowa, Kiowa-Apache, Osage, Otoe-Missouri, Pawnee, Ponca, Quapaw, Sac and Fox, Seminole, Seneca-Cayuga, Shawnee, Tonkawa, and Wichita.

Wyoming: Arapaho and Shoshone.

Linguistic Groupings

Linguistically, the majority of these tribes fall predominantly into three of the linguistic groups into which American Indian tribal languages are divided: Algonquian, Aztec-Tanoan, and Hokan-Siouan. Within each of these major groupings there are families or land areas, which provide for further subdivisions. Within any geographical area, one may find each of these groups represented.

Their Dwellings and Culture

Not only are the tribes of the central states linguistically diverse, and geographically dispersed, but they are also culturally unique. For example, and contrary to popular belief, many but not all of the tribes lived in skin-covered tepees, the Dakota name for this common type of mobile shelter. The Blackfeet, Comanche, Crow, and Shoshone used a

four-pole structural base for the tepee; the Arapaho, Assiniboine, Cheyenne, Cree, Gros Ventre, and Kiowa utilized a three-pole structural foundation. The earth lodge, another type of shelter, was lived in by the Arikara, Hidatsa, Mandan and Omaha. The Wichita resided in permanent grass lodges. The Osage house, an oval or oblong domelike structure covered with mats, served as home for the Osage people.

While the tribes differed from each other in many ways, the cultures of the majority of the tribes discussed in this section were shaped by the horse and the bison or buffalo. The horse became a common means of transportation, and the dog travois* was adapted to the horse. In addition, the horse became a standard of value in which the wealth of an individual was measured by the number of horses he owned or gave away. The buffalo provided the tribes of the great plains with a stable economy.

Commenting upon the Dakotas, Clark Wissler wrote in *Indians of the United States* (New York: Anchor Books, 1966):

> Their domestic economy was based upon the buffalo; his flesh was used for food, his bones for tools, ornaments and arrow points, his horns for spoons and small containers, his dewclaws and hoofs for rattles, his hair was twisted into ropes for horses, tendons for thread, skins for robes, tepees, moccasins, etc. They even used skin for binding and joining where we would use nails. They made serviceable knives from buffalo ribs.

One generalization that applies to all tribes involves their showing of respect for elder members. The tribes' continuity was dependent upon these teachers and transmitters of culture, history, wisdom, and knowledge. Other relationships, basically of respect but characterized more often as non-verbal, were those that existed between brothers and sisters, between a daughter-in-law and father-in-law, and between a son-in-law and mother-in-law as represented by Arapaho tribal culture. Evidencing concern for the well-being of others and placing tribal concerns above those for oneself were dominant values of the tribes in this region.

Reliance of the individual and or tribe upon the spiritual also is characteristic of these regional peoples. *There was no dichotomy between the spiritual and all the other aspects of the life process.* Most

*A vehicle consisting of two trailing poles (travois poles) serving as shafts for a dog or horse and bearing a platform or net for the load.

plains Indians (except the Pawnee, Wichita and Omaha) observed the Sun Dance to reaffirm their dependence upon the spiritual.

As typified by the Dakota, the tribes in this area have unique and numerous ceremonies, as well as a complex ceremonial life which is necessary for maintaining harmony with the world about them. Attendance and proper conduct at tribal ceremonials was upheld by warrior societies. For example, the Cheyenne utilized the Dog Soldiers or another warrior society to maintain order during the Arrow Renewal Ceremonial or at the Sun Dance.

Governance

Tribal governance was exemplified by the six-nation Iroqois Confederation to which the Seneca and Cayuga belonged; the Creek Confederation, composed of four similar tribes, in which there existed strong local village governments; and the Cherokee national government which also rested upon strong local control. An outstanding feature of these governments was their practice of democracy in following the will of the governed — the people.

Prior to the arrival of European immigrants, as diverse as tribal lifestyles were, American Indian life in all tribes was founded upon the concepts of democracy, coexistence, humanitarian respect for the visions of others, and upon an attitude of respect and tolerance for other cultures — what we now refer to as cultural pluralism. This was highlighted in *American Indian Tribal Government Studies* published by the National Congress of American Indians, (Washington, D.C.: 1976):

> In spite of these vast differences, all of the many cultures appear to have had at least one thing in common — the knowledge that the earth was a good and beautiful place and that all living things were, in some way, dependent on all other living things, an idea that has only recently gained wide acceptance in the European cultures that now occupy the same lands.

Displacement of Tribes

In the 1800's, the lands of Oklahoma became home for many displaced Indian tribes. The first of hundreds of treaties was signed with the Delaware Tribe in 1778, which like others promised certain benefits and privileges in exchange for land. The Kickapoos joined in Tecumseh's alliance in 1800, and along with the Winnebago joined

others in Black Hawk's War of 1832 in a desperate effort to resist white westward expansion. The Indian Removal Act of 1830 moved tribes west so that the white man's "destiny could be manifested." The Cherokee, Creek, Chickasaw, Choctaw and Seminole were moved to Oklahoma between 1828 and 1846, in which period thousands of Cherokee died when they were illegally forced to leave Georgia. The Delaware tribe was removed fifteen times.

Not only were the tribes removed and moved again, but they were brought into contact with diseases for which they had no immunity. Sometimes blankets given to the tribes were deliberately infected with smallpox. In 1831 and 1836 respectively, the Pawnee and Winnebago lost many tribal members through smallpox. The next year, the Arikara, Mandan and Hidatsa tribes were greatly reduced by the same disease. The Pawnee and the Cheyenne were decimated by cholera epidemics in 1849, and smallpox reduced the Kansas (Kaw) tribe in the mid-1800's. Loss of family and relatives was as devastating as was severing ancient ties with their homelands.

In the 1840's, the discovery of gold in California led to new treaties and non-Indian abuse of Indian lands which had been reserved by treaty agreement. In 1856, the Omaha were placed on a reservation in Nebraska. In 1862, unfulfilled promises for annuities caused retaliatory action by some Dakota Santee in Minnesota; 300 Indians were later sentenced to hang but President Abraham Lincoln commuted the sentences of all but 38.

In 1863 and 1864, the remnants of the Winnebago tribe were moved to Nebraska. In 1864, the troops of Colonel J. M. Chivington attacked a peaceful camp of Indians in Colorado Territory, slaughtering several hundred Cheyenne and Arapaho men, women and children, an event which is known as the Sand Creek Massacre. Three years later, the Sac and Fox were removed to Oklahoma pursuant to their 1867 treaty.

The 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty assigned Ponca lands to the Dakota and the Ponca were removed to Oklahoma. It also guaranteed the Black Hills as Dakota land, but gold was discovered there by the expeditionary force of General George A. Custer. In 1868 he led an infamous attack on Black Kettle's Cheyenne camp on the Washita River in Indian Territory, killing nearly 100. In 1874, 174 Montana Blackfeet were massacred by Colonel E. M. Baker's troops.

On June 25, 1876, Custer attacked and fought the combined forces of Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho in a battle on the Little Big Horn which culminated in a decisive Indian victory over the United States Army. The following year, 900 Northern Cheyenne were sent

south, but one-third walked back to their northern homelands. As a result, they were assigned a reservation in southeastern Montana. (In 1879, in the case of Standing Bear, a Ponca chief, it was determined that an Indian was a person!)

The coveting by non-Indians of lands reserved for Indians caused Congress in 1887 to pass the General Allotment Act, which provided for the distribution of 40, 80 or 160 acres of land to certain Indians, and legally sanctioned the taking of 90 million acres by the Federal Government.

In 1888, the majority of Indian tribes of the northern plains were confined to reservations. The last hope offered by the Ghost Dance of a return to the old ways culminated on December 29, 1890, at Wounded Knee Creek with the ruthless murder of several hundred Lakota followers of Big Foot.

Some Indian Contributions

After many centuries, the innate human capabilities of the American Indian are only now being accepted. Yet, American society has benefited from a wide range of contributions from a wide range of tribes: Sacajawea, the Shoshone woman who served as a guide to the Lewis and Clark Expedition; Major General Clarence Tinker of Osage descent, who assumed command of the Air Force in Hawaii following the Japanese attack of 1941; Jim Thorpe of the Sac and Fox tribe, football star and Olympic champion; Dr. Henry Roe Cloud, Winnebago, co-author of the 1928 landmark Meriam Survey Report which served to modify American Indian policies.

Indian talents have been significant in many fields. The wide range (from a variety of tribes) includes Pulitzer Prize-winning novelist N. Scott Momaday; artist R. C. Gorman; physicist Dr. Fred Young; and physicians George Blue Spruce and Kermit Smith.

Some outstanding Indian leaders in the past have been known to many Americans. However, members of their tribes revere them for vital contributions to their day-to-day survival. These leaders include Little Raven (Arapaho), Sequoyah (Cherokee), black Kettle (Cheyenne), Stone Child (Chippewa), Quanah Parker (Comanche), Plenty Coups (Crow), Sitting Bull (Hunkpapa Sioux), Satanta (Kiowa), Crazy Horse (Oglala Sioux), Black Hawk (Sac and Fox), Tecumseh (Shawnee), and Washakie (Shoshone).

Highly talented and creative persons of American Indian tribal descent are continuing to contribute to the beauty of American life. By no means a complete listing of tribes, the following are but a few of the

individuals who continue to contribute much to our nation as well as to American Indian betterment:

Atsina: Gary Niles Kimble — attorney, legislator and educator.
Blackfeet: Percy De Wolf — legislator; Victoria Santana — attorney.
Cheyenne-Arapaho: A. Whiteman — artist.
Cree: Buffy Sainte-Marie — folk-singer.
Creek: Allie Reynolds — professional baseball player.
Comanche: LaDonna Harris — administratrix.
Mandan: Tillie Walker — child welfare advocate.
Oglala Sioux: Billy Mills — Olympic gold medalist.
Osage: Maria and Marjorie Tallchief — ballerinas.
Quapaw-Cherokee: Louis Ballard — composer.
Salish-Kootenai: D'Arcy McNickle — author and educator.
Sioux: Oscar Howe — artist.
Winnebago: Reuben Snake — administrator and author.

Individuals such as the aforementioned continue to perpetuate Indian tribal-specific cultures, and contribute to a renascence of native cultural life patterns in a contemporary world.

TRIBES OF ALASKA AND THE WESTERN STATES

Alaskan Natives include the Tlingit, Haida, Tsimsian, and Athabascan Indians, and the Aleuts, Yupik Eskimos and Inupiat Eskimos. The Athabascans inhabit the vast interior of Alaska. They live along the interior rivers and in wooded areas. A basic source of their subsistence is provided by the seasonal salmon runs in the rivers. They have traditionally supplemented their diet with game animals such as caribou and moose. Of course, contemporary diet has been influenced by the influx of whites. The Athabascan people have initiated a post-secondary institution, the Tanana Chiefs College, and they have formed a consortium with the Inupiat University of the Arctic, Sheldon Jackson College at Sitka and Alaska Methodist University.

The Tlingit, Tsimsian and Haida live in the southeastern part of the state along the coast facing the Gulf of Alaska. Most of the territory from Controller Bay southward is the home of the Tlingits. The Haidas live principally on Prince of Wales Island and surrounding areas of Canada.

Although the Tlingit and the Haida speak different languages and have unique cultural features, they have many similarities. Both of their economies are based principally upon fishing. Salmon, halibut, and cod are the main sources of food but they also eat shell-

fish and sea mammals. As with all Alaskan Natives, Tlingits and Haidas occupy permanent villages during the winter months, and frequently move to fish camps during the summer months.

The Aleuts live in coastal villages on the islands that make up the Aleutian chain. They are considered to be more closely related to the Eskimo than they are to the Indian. Aleuts traditionally have been hunters of seals, sea lions and whales. They still supplement their diet with roots, berries, and birds — and also their eggs — which are found in great abundance on the Aleutian islands. They, too, have adopted non-native diets to some degree.

The Inupiat and Yupik Eskimos live in the northern and western coastal portions of Alaska. They have permanent villages that are located along the coast in such places as the mouths of rivers or the favorable bays and coves. The major source of food for the Eskimo comes from the seas and the rivers running into the sea.

The northern or Inupiat Eskimo have traditionally been hunters of whale, walrus, and seal in the Arctic Ocean. The western, southern or Yupik Eskimo live along the Bering Sea coast and are still hunters of the bearded seal and salmon. Both groups of Eskimos supplement their sea-based diet with large game (including caribou) and with fish found in rivers.

The subsistence economy of the Alaskan Natives often is at odds with the rapid influx of technological changes. Natives ask, "Must one way of life end, so that another may prevail? Or is it possible for the native and non-native to exist side by side?"

The Eskimo of the North Slope have founded a four-year college, the Inupiat University of the Arctic, that is based on cultural principles and is governed by a Native Board of Regents. There is also a Yupik post-secondary institution, the Kuskokwim College that is associated with the University of Alaska.

The Alaskan Native Claims Settlement Act

To deal with the problems of land claims in Alaska, the United States Congress passed the Alaskan Native Claims Settlement Act on December 18, 1971 (P.L. 92–203). Under this bill, the Alaskan Natives retained title to 40 million acres of land and relinquished all rights and claims to the rest of Alaska for a monetary consideration of 962.5 million dollars. Twelve regional corporations were established with each native having rights as a shareholder. It is worth noting that the Alaskan Natives Claims Settlement Act is but one of many legal actions in recent years designed to adjudicate American Indian rights

and land claims. The Alaskan act resulted from a ten-year effort to deal with the land claims in the state.

Northwest Coast Indians

The Northwest Coast Indians live in an area stretching from northern California to southern Alaska.

The earlier Natives in this area made their living from the sea and the coastal rivers. They supplemented their sea food with land animals and plant foods. Salmon taken in the annual spawning runs can still be considered to be one of the major sources of food for the people of the Northwest Coast.

Contemporary Indians in this area still rely in large measure on ocean and river fishing and aquaculture. The Makah, Quiliute, Quinault, Swinomish, Lummi, Chehalis, Yakima, and Tulalip are some of the major tribes in this area. Over 20 smaller tribes are encompassed within STOWW (Small Tribes of Western Washington).

Today the northwest coastal tribal reservations are largely made up of numerous small tracts, particularly in the Puget Sound area of Washington. Many of the Indians still fish for subsistence and are also involved with commercial fishing. The Northwest Affiliated Tribes is a politically strong organization that is deeply concerned with education and that is vocal about educational issues. Plateau tribes are included in this organization.

Northwest Plateau Indians

The Northwest Plateau Area consists of parts of the states of Washington and Oregon, northern Idaho, and the northwestern portion of Montana, situated between the Cascade Mountain range on the west and the Rocky Mountain range on the east.

The plateau tribes share some of the culture and customs of their neighbors on the coast and have some similarities with those of the Indians of the plains. The tribes that lived near the Columbia River and its inland tributaries were able to obtain the abundant fish found in these rivers, particularly the salmon, steelhead, sturgeon and eels, as they made their spawning runs. The Columbia River also served as an avenue of communication and trade among the plateau tribes and the northwest coastal tribes.

As another example, the Coeur d'Alenes, Nez Perce, and Salish-speaking tribes (Flatheads and Kootenai) hunted buffalo and used tepees during the summer months. However, they had permanent

villages which they occupied during the winter months. Along with fish, buffalo and other big game, the Plateau tribes ate the abundant berries and plant roots found in the area.

Some of the major Indian tribes found in this area are the Salish (Flathead and Kootenai), Coeur d'Alene, Nez Perce, Colville, Spokane, Yakima, Umatilla, and Warm Springs. As with the Northwest Coast tribes, some of the present tribes of the plateau region are composite tribes, made up of several smaller tribes. For example, there are 14 tribal subgroups that make up the Yakima today. The Colville and Warm Springs tribes also have several different and distinct subgroups.

The Plateau tribes are now located on reservations which have timber, crop or range lands. Indians living on the reservation engage either in farming or ranching, or work in the various industries located on or near their reservations.

Nearly all of the reservations in this area were opened at one time for homesteading and today are a mixture of Indian and non-Indian owned lands.

The Indian tribes in this area are engaged in legal efforts to retain their rights to hunt and fish within their aboriginal territory. They continue their traditional forms of government, social structures, ceremonies, dances, arts and language.

The Basin Area Indians

The Basin Area consists of tribes living within the states of Nevada, Utah, Southern Idaho and parts of southeastern Oregon and southwestern Wyoming. This area is bordered on the west by the Sierra Nevada Mountains, on the east by the Wasach Mountains in Utah, and on the North by the Blue Mountains of Oregon.

Much of the Basin Area is classified as semi-desert owing to its scarcity of rainfall. This scarcity in turn limits the amount of vegetation that can exist, which in turn prevents any large concentration of game animals. There are few lakes and streams in the Basin Area.

The Indian tribes of this area are the Paiute, Shoshone, Ute, Bannock and the Washoe. Although there are many sub-groups of the Paiute, Ute and Shoshone, by and large they consider themselves today as either Paiute, Shoshone or Ute.

The Indian tribes of the Basin Area can be subdivided into two distinct groups: (1) those of the eastern edge (such as the Ute, eastern Shoshone and Bannock) who used the horse and hunted the buffalo as part of their way of life; and (2) the other tribes in this area (which are

generally classified as "seed gatherers"): the Washoe, the Northern and Southern Paiute, and the Western and Southern Shoshone. Their main sources of food have traditionally included piñon nuts, antelope and other small game.

Owing to the sparsity of plant and subsequent animal life for food, the Native population in the Basin Area was of low density. Tribes lived along the small streams and lakes in the area. Annually they collected the nuts from the piñon trees during the Fall and used this basic substance in a variety of ways together with the small-game animals and birds found along the streams and small lakes.

Today the Indians of the Basin live on large reservations or in small colonies located near the cities and towns in this area. Those who live on the reservation often make their living from livestock while those who live in the colonies may be employed in the surrounding communities.

Many of the Indians in this area have retained their language and other cultural customs. Their attendance at public schools and churches is considerable. As with other Indians, they have strongly retained their tribal affiliations and thus have insisted on certain rights to hunt and fish within their aboriginal territory. Approximately 1 to 1½ percent of the population in this area is Indian.

California Indians

Some of the major tribes in early California were the Hupa (Hoopa), Karok and Yarok of the northern coastal areas. The Modoc were in the northwestern part of the state. The interior valley was the home of the Pomo, Wintun, Maidu, Miwoks, and Yokuts. Numerous tribes also were found in southern California: the Chumash and Yuman tribes lived on the coastal plains, with the Tehachapi, Cahuilla, Serrano, and related groups living in southeastern California.

The major food staples of the California Indians varied in accordance with their locality. However, from the numerous oak trees many tribes harvested the acorn which was in earlier days a basic food source for most of the tribes. Fishing in the coastal bays and marshes also provided an important part of their diets as did the piñon nuts for the natives in the southeastern portion of California. Today diet is similar to non-Indian diet.

The diversity of the languages of the early California natives suggests that the area may have been first populated by several different tribes which traveled into the area over a period of several cen-

turies. Once in this favorable and abundant environment, some settled and have continued to maintain their separate and distinct cultures and languages.

Present-day California Indians, for the most part, have changed and evolved in many ways. Many of the early Indians were annihilated by the Spanish and Anglo-American settlers. Today, the surviving California Indians live on small and somewhat isolated rancherias and reservations scattered throughout the interior valley and foothills. The larger rancherias are scattered in the foothills of the southwestern tip of the state. There are nearly 70 distinct reservations and rancherias with government structures located in what is now called California.

The major reservations in California are located in the northern part of the state. The Hupa and Yurok reservation is located in the northwestern coastal area. The Pomo are located on the Round Valley reservation, north of Ukiah. The original California Indians made a series of treaties and agreements with representatives of the United States Government but these never were ratified by Congress.

The policy of the Federal Government in the 1950's of relocating Indians away from their reservations resulted in many Indians from other states being translocated into the major cities of California. Today most of the Indians in California are from out of state and come from a variety of tribal backgrounds. There are Indian centers in the major cities of the state that provide social and other services for Indians in California. Indigenous tribal Indians of the region continue to observe and practice cultural and religious ceremonies away from the major population centers. Through their educational systems, tribes are beginning to revive to an even greater degree their cultural practices and languages.

SOME TRIBES IN THE SOUTHWEST

In discussing the southwestern tribes one must remember that cultural change is a continuous process and therefore the development of various tribes and individuals within those tribes is at different stages in the continuum of cultural change. Tribal members come from families which belong to one of the following churches: (1) Traditional; (2) Protestant; (3) Catholic; (4) Native American Church; (5) Mormon; (6) none of the foregoing; or (7) a combination of two or three of the foregoing, which influence the daily decisions of their family. One also may find that within one family (consisting of the nuclear

family, plus grandparents, perhaps uncles and aunts) there may be representation of several belief groups.

Christian churches have had a tremendous influence upon the southwestern trbies. The Spanish explorers first encountered Papagos and Pueblos in 1540, with the Coronado Expedition. Colonization did not occur until 1598 under the leadership of the first Spanish governor, Don Juan de Oñate. The Spanish colonial frontier did not permanently reach Papago territory until 1687. Rev. Eusebio F. Kino, a Tyrolian Jesuit trained in Germany, established the first mission among Northern Pimans in 1687. The first historical glimpse of Navajo culture was recorded by Fray Alonso de Benavides in 1630.

The Christianizing and proselytizing efforts among the various tribes were demeaning and not advantageous to the development of the tribes. For example, the following account is reported in *Perspectives in American Indian Cultural Change* (Edward H. Spicer, editor. The University of Chicago Press, 1961):

> The encomienda (tithing) system in New Mexico aggravated conditions by exacting tribute from the Indians, while the missionary program vied with the encomienda system in forcing the Indians to abandon their native practices and was equally coercive and brutal.
>
> To supplement native ceremonial patterns and beliefs, missionaries baptized Indians, forced attendance at Mass and made instruction in Catholic doctrine compulsory in missionary establishments. A Spanish decree in 1620 permitted the creation of native officers among the Pueblos. These officers were expected to cooperate with Spanish civil and church officials in compelling their members to comply with the civilizing and Christianizing efforts of the Spaniards.
>
> The Pueblo Indians appeared to compromise by outwardly seeming to have accepted the Spanish-imposed cultural system. They adopted the externals of the new faith and conformed to its demands of labor and tribute, but they continued to practice their own indigenous religion and other customs behind closed doors, heavily guarded against church and civil authorities.

Today each of the Pueblo villages has a mission in its midst. Although most Pueblo people nominally have been Catholic for more than three hundred years, the native religion is the basis of their system of belief. The two systems are maintained by a process which Pueblo scholar Alfonso Ortiz once described as "compartmentalization."

Five church denominations now exist among the Jicarilla Apaches (northern part of New Mexico); the Navajos have at least a

dozen different denominations on their reservation; and the Papagos have at least three denominations.

Basic Data

To summarize the significant events in the history of the southwestern tribes is not possible within the space limits of this section. However, some key facts and a few highlights can be indicated here.

It is important to know that the Indians of the Southwest are not vanishing, but rather are increasing in numbers. For example, the Navajos (the largest tribe, whose reservation is comparable in area to France) have a population of some 140,000. The tribe is comparatively young: the average age is 17 years and 50 percent of all Navajos are under the age of 30.

The Jicarilla Apaches number approximately 2,000. The Mescalero Apaches also have a population of approximately 2,000. The Papagos number approximately four to five thousand. The population of both the Northern and Southern Pueblos — excluding the Hopis and Zunis — number approximately 25,500. (In 1967 it was estimated that the population of the Zunis was 5,000 and the estimated population of the Hopis was 6,000.)

As Estelle Fuchs and Robert J. Havighurst reported in *To Live on This Earth* (New York: Doubleday, 1972): "Despite a relatively high infant-mortality rate, the Indian birth rate in 1967 was twice as high as that of the total population, making Indians a rapidly growing and youthful population."

Diversity

There is an erroneous tendency among non-Indians to believe that American Indians all are of one group and little different from other educationally disadvantaged groups. In the southwest, there is a great diversity of culture, language, economic conditions and legal relations with the Federal Government.

The Indian languages spoken in the Southwest vary as follows: Athabascan-related languages are spoken by the Navajos, Apaches, Utes, and Paiutes; Pima, Yuma, and Tanoan — three dialects of Tewan — are spoken by six northern Pueblos tribes; Tiwa is spoken by two northern Pueblos and two southern Pueblos; Towa is spoken by one Pueblo; Zunian is spoken by one Pueblo, and Keresan is spoken by seven Pueblos.

Pueblo languages are highly diverse; they contain three com-

pletely unrelated languages: Tanoan, Zunan and Keresan. The three language subgroups of the Tanoan — Tiwa, Tewa, and Towa — although obviously related, are mutually unintelligible; hence they are separate languages. In addition, there are dialectical differences from pueblo to pueblo within each language group. Hopi and Tanoan have linguistic relatives outside the Pueblos; Hopi and Uto-Aztecan and Tanoan with Kowan. Both also are Hopi and Tanoan which are linked by some linguists to Uto-Aztecan Tanoan. Zuni also may be distantly related to California Penutian.

The principal members of the Athabascan linguistic family are divided into the Northern group, The Pacific group, and the Southern group. The Southwest Athabascan-related languages fall into the Southern group.

The southwestern Indians today reside on trust lands situated in New Mexico, Colorado, Utah, and Arizona. These reservations are Federally recognized and have been created by treaties, Congressional Acts, Executive Orders and Agreements.

The 1970 Census showed the Indians to be the most rural of all the minority groups — about 70 percent of the Indians are classified as rural nonfarm residents.

Life on the Reservation

The reservations of the Jicarilla Apaches consist of about 742,315 acres and are located in the Rio Arriba and Sandoval Counties of northern New Mexico. (The word Jicarilla means "little basket" in Spanish.) The northern area of the reservation is mountainous (with an average elevation of 8,700 feet). It is dotted by seven lakes and includes the Navajo River.

Originally the Apaches were moved to this northern reservation as a "temporary" home. However, the reservation became permanent in 1887 through an executive order by President Grover Cleveland.

The southern portion of the reservation (containing approximately 341,000 acres at an average elevation of 6,450 feet) is composed of rolling hills and sagebrush country. The major use of the southern reservation is for grazing of livestock: sheep, cattle and horses. The southern portion of the reservation was acquired under the Executive Order of another President, Theodore Roosevelt, in 1908.

As was mentioned earlier, the Jicarilla Apaches speak Apache, which is a part of the Athabascan family language group. There are two clans in the tribe: the Ollero (mountain people), and the Lanero

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(plains people). Like other southwestern tribes, the Jicarilla Apaches are maintaining their indigenous religion as well as participating in non-Indian secular activities.

Special Jicarilla religious ceremonies are held seasonally, for special occasions, or for healing purposes, as is the case with other southwestern tribes. The Go-Gee-Ya Feast (including a harvest and relay race between the two clans) usually is held on September 14 and 15 of each year. The Puberty Dance (held for girls who are entering womanhood) continues for four days and is conducted by a medicine man who also conducts the Bear Dance, a healing ceremony for the ill. Extending for four days, the Bear Dance is held whenever it is deemed necessary.

Just as Navajo religious activities concern and involve all the members of the family, and permeate the daily life of individuals, so too is it among the Jicarilla. There is constant interaction between the adults and children. Furthermore, there are no special buildings erected to worship in; rather, the *hogan* (the home) is the shrine, and major religious activities occur within it.

His home is where the Navajo youngster develops and refines his knowledge of the Navajo code of life (*Dine ba niilyaii* and *Dine yee hinanii*) and the Navajo way of life (*Dine yik'ehgo yigaalii*). The home is the place of births and of family celebrations such as that for a baby's first laugh, of kinaalda (puberty rites of a young woman), and of weddings. It also is the center for the judicial process and the place where maintaining good health, happiness, and harmony with relatives, friends, and natural surroundings are all learned and reinforced through *Hozhooji* (the Blessingway ceremony).

The Navajo hogan also is the place where theology, law, and medicine are learned and reinforced. Robert L. Bergman reported as follows in "Navajo Medicine and Psychoanalysis" (*Human Behavior*, July, 1973): "In a Navajo ceremony, there is no way to tell what is healing and what is worship. Everything is both. Moral guidance is also an inextricable element of ceremonial practice."

Southwestern tribes exhibit varying degrees of maintenance of their traditional history, stories, ceremonies, songs, prayers, and explanations of proper behavioral patterns. A mixture of these ingredients which makes for proper living is included within the teaching of each ceremony. For example, the Navajos sing some 70-75 ceremonial songs during their four-day puberty ceremony. The medicine man explains why certain songs are sung; how they relate to prayers and stories; and why certain behavioral patterns and expectations are required. The young woman being honored must observe strictly

those behavioral patterns detailed to her during the four days since this will teach her to move about smoothly in the adult world she is entering. She also is taught about the responsibilities which she will shoulder during the course of her life among her people. In addition, encouragements are voiced concerning her acquisition of various skills, such as weaving, for example.

Currently, the question of water rights for the southwestern tribes is extremely critical. In a case which was initiated in the courts in 1975 (entitled New Mexico v. Aamodt) the issue involves whether the state and the state engineer shall have jurisdiction over Indian water rights and usage, or whether it shall reside with the Federal Government where it has been since the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1948 and from the time New Mexico was accepted into statehood in 1912.

The Navajo River is the only usable river on the Jicarilla Apache Indian Reservation. This river is being turned around and, through a three-quarter billion dollar project, being taken into the Rio Grande. It has been pointed out by the Indians affected that this diversion ordered by the Secretary of Interior will cause "the destruction of the Jicarilla, the Southern Ute, the Ute Mountain and the mighty Navajos." Furthermore, they note:

> The eternal verities of low rainfall, lack of surface water, and a limited number of mountain springs have been somewhat altered by deep tube wells in the alluvial valleys. Water remains the limiting factor in Papagueria (Spanish name for the land of the Papagos) . . . What has changed most drastically in the environment of the Papagos is migration of Mexican Americans, Anglo-Americans and Blacks into the same riverine valleys where the Papagos historically and prehistorically supplemented desert resources.

Alfonso Ortiz has summed up the situation as follows: "Today the Pimas are farming about one-half the acreage of their peak years a century ago, despite a doubling of their population since that time."

Some Educational Problems of the Navajos

The Navajo reservation extends into three states: Arizona (the major portion of the land is located here), New Mexico and Utah — an area of approximately 25,000 square miles. Thus the reservation is the size of the state of West Virginia, or larger than the combined states of Connecticut, Delaware, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire. Because

of the size of its land area and the large population of the tribe (over 140,000), Navajo problems are complex. The situation in education will serve as an example.

About 29,000 of the tribe's children attend public schools extending over 18 varied districts. (In addition, the boundaries of these school districts do not coincide with those of Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) agency divisions.)

About 1,000 children attend 21 church schools which are administered by at least 12 different religious denominations whose home office locations usually are on the East Coast.

About 24,000 children attend 54 BIA schools whose overall administrative office is in Washington D.C.

Since 1966 five Navajo Schools have been established, each administered by its local community. Three of these schools have educational programs which include pre-school through high-school age children. About 1,000 children attend the five schools.

There also are 102 Headstart sites and several Day Care Centers administered by the Navajo Tribe which serve over 2,000 children.

In addition to this complex web of educational administration, there are three U.S. Office of Education (U.S.O.E.) regional offices which subdivide responsibilities for Federal programs in the reservation schools. For example, the New Mexico schools which have Federal programs are serviced by the Dallas U.S.O.E. office; the Arizona schools by the San Francisco office, and the Utah schools by the Denver office. These programs include the public, contract and Headstart school operations. The network of layer upon layer of administration — tribal, state, Federal and often church — causes slow development of programs and extreme levels of frustration for those in tribal positions who are attempting to make some changes for the benefit of the Navajo children.

The public school experiences of southwestern tribes generally have been detrimental to the growth of a positive self-image among Indian youngsters. The curriculum has been foreign, as have been the teachers, the language used, the administration, and the food served. Traditionally, public schools have not involved the Navajo community — its teachings, training, or diet.

In its effort to improve the education of its children, the Navajo Tribe through its own Division of Education has set as its Number One priority the training of its first cadre of professional Navajos to be classroom teachers.

At present the tribes's 70,000 school children are taught by 2,800 teachers and 200 administrators. In 1973, it was reported that only 178

of the teachers were Navajos (not all of them bilingual), and that approximately 10 of the administrators were Navajos. According to the March 1976 issue of the *Navajo Nation Education Review*, 200 students were enrolled in the Navajo-sponsored Teacher Education Development Program, with one hundred expected to graduate in June of that year, bringing the total of Navajo teachers up to about 500.

This new corps of Navajo teachers is expected to make a difference in the lives of Navajo children, especially those teachers who are bilingual and who are knowledgeable about the life-styles, religions, cultures, and social influences which may not result in either the strengthening or weakening of the Navajo people. Navajo teachers and administrators are planning to combine their efforts and to establish a new coalition of educators from tribal communities who can assist in the teaching of the young. The Navajo Tribe is hopeful that eventually it will have full decision-making responsibility for the education of all of its children and youth.

Over the last ten years, moreover, some changes have been introduced in the education of American Indians, beginning with the community-based Rough Rock Demonstration School in Rough Rock, Arizona.

Early in 1977, the Navajo Division of Education and the Board of Trustees established the Navajo Academy in Window Rock, Arizona. A private high school, "founded on the principle of cultural pluralism," it is open without charge to young Navajos "who wish to prepare themselves for future roles of leadership and service to the Navajo Nation and the United States."

An Editor's Concluding Note

Hopefully, a reading of the foregoing article has given the teacher insights which will be helpful in the education of American Indian boys and girls. From this reading, however, it should be clear that if your own particular questions have not been answered in the article you must seek the answers in your own Indian community because the answers will be different for different tribal peoples.

If teachers make the effort to meet the family, they will find that individual members of the family will be inclined to meet them half-way. Establishing a one-to-one relationship with family members will make cultural differences easier to understand. Experience of the teacher as a mother or father may form a common bond with the parents of the Indian children and provides for understanding rooted in human values.

Only by getting to know the local Indian community — its problems and its values — can the teacher really meet the needs of the children in his classroom. For example, only if the teacher finds out that local Indian families have to walk miles for pails of scarce water will he or she understand why their children's school clothing cannot be sparkling clean at all times. Only if the teacher finds out that there is no electricity in his pupils' home will he understand why they cannot do homework assignments at night.

To discover the value and belief systems of your students' families or tribes, however, may require more subtle and painstaking explorations.

It may surprise some teachers, for instance, to discover how deeply religious values pervade all aspects of Indian students' lives — how religion is something which they *live* seven days a week in all of their activities rather than observe only in church on Sunday mornings.

It also may surprise some teachers to discover the serious tribal responsibilities which Indian families place on the shoulders of their children — responsibilities as broad and far-reaching as helping to insure the economic and spiritual survival of their tribes.

Such a discovery will help explain why qualified Indian boys and girls are now being encouraged by tribal leaders to go into key fields such as medicine, law, economics, and business administration. Similar insights into tribal naming ceremonies will indicate their crucial roles in helping children to focus on the goals of their Indian nations.

For instance, in the first years of her life a little Indian girl may be given the loving and playful name which means in English, "She flies like a butterfly." At the age of five, however, at a tribal naming ceremony, she will be renamed to make clear her life's mission: "She flies to defend her nation."

Discoveries and insights such as these can help teachers realize what important roles they themselves may play in helping Indian students to achieve their individual potential and their tribal goals. Not only can a teacher reap intense personal satisfaction for his efforts; in this way, he also can help to make partial repayment of the debt all of us owe to America's Indians as they continue to share with us the riches of "This Turtle Island."

SUGGESTED ADDITIONAL READINGS*

Fuchs, Estelle, and Robert Havighurst. *To Live on This Earth: American Indian Education*. New York: Anchor Press, Division of Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1973.

An exhaustive study of the nature of the education which Indians receive and have received in the United States. Deals with a number of important issues and problems, such as the identity and location of contemporary tribes and the difficulties and subsequent achievement levels resulting from cultural assimilation into American schools.

Josephy, Alvin M., Jr. *The Indian Heritage of America*. New York: Bantam Books, Inc., 1968.

An excellent book for both students and teachers. Each chapter covers a different tribe and the corresponding geographical location of each. Explored are attitudes toward Indians; stereotypes; the white man's conquest; Indians today and their fight for survival.

Levine, Stuart, and Nancy O. Lurie. *The American Indian Today*. Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, Inc., 1972.

Indian and white anthropologists explore the American Indian identity today in the light of firmly-rooted, traditional values. Their findings are supported by a series of case studies which examine current problems confronting Indians. Nationalistic trends, current tendencies, acculturation, governmental relations, and education are major topics of this study. Included are highly detailed maps, topical bibliographies, illustrations, and a complete index.

Moquin, Wayne, and Charles Van Doren. *Great Documents in American Indian History*. New York: Praeger Publishers, Inc., 1973.

A series of readings about some of the tribes in the United States. Authors note the similarities and differences among tribes and with American culture. They explore the texture of tribal life, the confrontation with the white man, and the problems facing Indians today.

National Geographic Society. *The World of the North American Indian*. Washington, D.C.: National Geographic Society, 1974.

The narrative and illustrations, covering the history of American Indians, provide a vivid account of their beliefs, customs, crafts, and accomplishments. Historical events and discussions of customs are integrated into an excellent resource for both readers and non-readers.

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*Annotations have been adapted from the Social Science Education Consortium's *Materials and Human Resources for Teaching Ethnic Studies: An Annotated Bibliography* (Boulder, Col.: The Consortium, 1975).

THE ITALIAN AMERICANS

By Richard Gambino

> Men may change their clothes, their politics, their wives, their religions, their philosophies, to a greater or lesser extent; but they cannot change their grandfathers.
>
> –*Horace M. Kallen, American educator, 1915*

The story of Italian-Americans must be told in two periods. The first, although of longer duration, is primarily of historical interest. The second, covering the last hundred years, has great contemporary import for Italian-Americans, other Americans, and Italians.

Early History

The earlier story begins with Columbus and ends with two coincidental, climactic events, the American Civil War (1860-65) and the Risorgimento in Italy (1860-1870). The earliest Italians in the new world left their imprint on history as explorers, navigators and adventurers. The contributions of the explorers who came after Columbus were great, but in the United States it is often forgotten that they were Italians, because like Columbus, they sailed for Europe's centralized monarchies.

If Italy had been a unified country instead of several small states on the decline from Renaissance heights during the age of American early exploration, the people of North America today would perhaps have Italian as their official language instead of English and French. And some south American countries might have Italian as their *lingua franca* instead of Spanish or Portuguese. During this period, the

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various Italian states had a large share of the most skilled, advanced, educated and restless men in Europe, but not the economic means or political power to support their work.

Hard upon Columbus' trail, "John Cabot" reached the Western Hemisphere in 1497, in the service of the King of England, who had authorized (and paid for) "our well-beloved Giovanni Cabotto, citizen of Venice, to sail to all parts, countries and seas of the east (sic) under our banners and ensigns." Cabotto set the cast of history by claiming for Britain a good part of what was to become the original United States.

The Florentine, Amerigo Vespucci, from 1499 to 1502 explored the Caribbean, the Gulf of Mexico, the mouths of the Amazon and the Rio de la Plata, and 6,000 miles of the southern coast of South America — for Spain and Portugal. In the process, he also developed a sophisticated navigational science, devising the first system for determining exact longitude, which enabled others to reach what he called the *Mundus Novus*, and which was called "America" in his honor after he died from malaria contracted in the new world.

Sailing for France, another Florentine, Giovanni da Verrazano, explored a great length of the North American coast (from Maine to North Carolina) in 1524. He was also the first European to enter New York Bay, 85 years before Henry Hudson. He was killed by natives while exploring the West Indies in 1526. Based on his explorations, his brother, Gerolamo, in 1529 completed excellent maps of North America which were of great use in the subsequent European colonization of the area.

The Italian Franciscan friar, Marco da Nizza, served Spain in Peru, Guatemala, and Mexico. In 1539, he led an expedition north from Mexico into what is now Arizona and New Mexico, paving the way for Spanish claims and colonization. Angered because his voyages did not yield gold, the Spanish recalled him to Spain in disgrace. His work was carried on by another priest working for Spain, Eusebio Francesco Chino ("Kino") who charted much of Arizona and California and set up thirty missions in the region. Spain also enjoyed the invaluable service of still another Italian, Alessandro Malaspina, who in 1791 carefully charted the entire Pacific Coast from Alaska to Mexico.

In 1644, an obscure Italian named Francesco Bressani settled among the Iroquois Indians in a wilderness that would become Albany, New York. Thirty-four years later, a tough Italian soldier, Enrico di Tonti, with an iron hook replacing a hand lost in a naval battle off Sicily, led the first exploration of the Great Lakes west of Lake Ontario

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— and into Illinois — for France. Together with Robert Cavelier La Salle, Tonti explored the entire Mississippi River in 1682 and claimed a huge part of North America for France.

Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

A number of Italians played a role in the British colonies during the period preceding the founding of the United States and the signing of the Declaration of Independence in 1776. Among the signers of the declaration was a man of probable Italian descent, William Paca, later Governor of Maryland.

Perhaps the most important early Italian influence in this period was the Tuscan, Filippo Mazzei. Trained in medicine, agriculture and letters, Mazzei had met Benjamin Franklin and other American subjects of Britain in London in 1766. Traveling to Virginia in 1773, he became a friend and neighbor of Thomas Jefferson and a courageous supporter of American independence. Later as a soldier in the Continental Army under Patrick Henry, he was captured by the British in 1779. In 1774-75, Mazzei, under the pseudonym "Furioso," wrote a series of political articles supporting the American cause against the British King. They were translated into English by Thomas Jefferson and published in the *Virginia Gazette*. In them we find words which evidently were later paraphrased by Jefferson when he wrote the Declaration of Independence in the summer of 1776. (They were also echoed in Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*.)

For example, Mazzei wrote in the *Gazette*:

> All men are by nature equally free and independent. Such equality is necessary in order to create a free government. All men must be equal to each other in natural law.

In the first ninety years of the United States, outstanding Italian-Americans continued to play a role. They included *explorers*, such as Italian-born Giuseppe Maria Francesco Vigo, who explored the Old Northwest Territory and gave critical assistance to the American Revolutionary cause there; *educators*, such as Lorenzo Da Ponte, who wrote the librettos for Mozart's most famous operas, and who became the first Professor of Italian Language and Literature at Columbia College in New York in 1830; *inventors*, such as Antonio Meucci, who, in an unsuccessful legal struggle, claimed he had invented the first telephone 26 years before Alexander Graham Bell; *artists*, such as Constantino Brumidi, who painted the famous fres-

coes in Washington's Capitol building in the spirit, to use his words, "to make beautiful the one country on earth in which there is liberty."

During America's Civil War, notable Italian-American officers on the Union side were Admiral Bancroft Gheradi: General Edward Ferraro, the only general to take command of an all-Black combat division; General Franceso Spinola; and Lt. Colonel Luigi Palma di Cesnola, winner of America's highest award for military valor, the Congressional Medal of Honor. There also were a number of Italian-American officers in the Confederate cause.

Italians in the period before 1865 also were settlers of new areas of American expansion, including California and the South. In addition they were *scientists*, such as Father Benedict Sestini, whose studies of the sun were published by the U.S. Naval Observatory in 1853; *writers*, such as Father Charles Constantine Pise, who in 1829 wrote what is perhaps the first Catholic American novel, *Father Rowland: A North American Tale*; and *missionaries*, such as Father Samuel Charles Mazzuchelli, who in 1833, wrote a book of prayers in the Sioux language, credited with being the first work ever published in that language.

Who Were the Newcomers?

Several characteristics of the Italians in America before 1865 emerge. First, they were overwhelmingly of Northern Italian background. Second, they often represented the highest skills and education available in Europe, as explorers, navigators, artisans, soldiers, scholars, educators, artists, musicians, priests, political theorists, and farmers. Third, those who settled in the New World and their descendants were a small percentage of the total population. They were spread throughout the general population and were well-integrated into it. Fourth, they (or their memories) were highly respected by American leaders of the time. For example, Thomas Jefferson was so impressed by Italians such as Mazzei that he wanted to encourage immigration from Italy. In fact, he imported skilled stone masons from Piedmont to build the University of Virginia.

With the Civil War, America plunged into industrialization and what was to be for decades an insatiable need for labor, skilled and unskilled. At the same time, Italy was undergoing the traumas of unification which contributed to a collapse of the political and economic systems of the section of Italy which is south and east of Rome and is known as the *Mezzogiorno*. A population explosion (despite mass emigration), agricultural disasters such as the blight of phyllox-

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era which destroyed Italian vineyards, and epidemics such as cholera and chronic malaria, caused millions of Italians to leave.

According to Italian government figures, 25 million Italians left their nation from 1860 to 1968. In all the many great contributions Italy has made to the world, we must also count millions of her sons and daughters and their offspring. There is, in a real sense, an Italian "diaspora," encompassing not only the United States, Canada and Australia but also many countries in Europe and Latin America.

When economic conditions worsened in South America in the 1870's, the flow of Italian immigrants turned north. It is worth noting that this flow to South America had been great, laying the foundations of the extensive present-day populations of Italian background in countries such as Argentina and Brazil.

Immigrants in the 1870-1924 Period

In the 1880's, Italians were recruited by the United States and came to meet our labor needs — especially those at the bottom of the economic ladder, needs made greater by the fact that such jobs were shunned by those parts of the American population which were then entering the middle class. Thus, for example, today we find many Italian-American barbers and hairdressers. The rising American middle class no longer needed to cut its own hair in its kitchens. It could now afford barbers, and thereby created economic opportunities for poor, unskilled Italian immigrants. The same was true of the need to build America's cities, railroads, and canals. This turn-of-the-century American need accounts for the large number of Italian-Americans who today are in the construction business or trades, especially in the northeast United States.

The Italian immigrants to the United States from 1870 to 1924, (when immigration was legally curtailed until 1968 by national quotas favoring Protestant Northern Europeans) contrasted diametrically in every way with the Italians who had come to America in earlier periods. The "new" Italian immigrants, as they were called, were (1) overwhelmingly from southern Italy — some 85 to 90 percent coming from the Mezzogiorno (of this group 29 percent came from Sicily, 27 percent from Naples and Campania); and (2) overwhelmingly unskilled, or skilled in *contadino* (peasant) farming skills inappropriate for urban America, where the frontier of free land was closed by the time they arrived.

They were mostly semiliterate or illiterate — having among them the highest rate of illiteracy and unskilled labor of all the large

European groups of immigrants pouring into the United States at the time. In this period Italians came in millions and settled among themselves in urban slum areas, creating "Little Italies" in hundreds of cities and towns. Although some Americans welcomed these newcomers, for the larger part, they were regarded with hatred, contempt, fear, and condescension by other Americans, who exploited, persecuted, and otherwise abused them to a hellish extent.

The 1870-1924 wave of immigrants from the Mezzogiorno brought with them a social system developed over centuries in which their land had been dominated, colonized, exploited or spoliated by outsiders — most recently in that period by the new Italian government of the Northern monarchy.

The Mezzogiorno system had one paramount institution, the extended blood family, which was allied with other families through marriage and the distinctive practice of "godparenthood." All other institutions, including economic, political and religious ones, were subordinated to this system, with its unwritten but demanding and complex codes of responsibilities, rights and obligations. Large institutions, especially those of the state, were regarded with feelings running from indifference to contempt to hostility — attitudes justified by the historical experience of the Mezzogiorno.

The immigrants coming in this wave knew few people from outside their *paese* (usually a small region), and re-established their social system in America's little Italies with Italians from other *paesi*. They went to work as laborers, building streets in cities such as New York, Cleveland, Kansas City, Boston, and San Francisco, and constructing railroads in Ohio, Colorado and other states. They also worked in factories from Philadelphia to New Orleans to Detroit, and in mines in states such as Pennsylvania and West Virginia. A minority of new immigrants became agricultural laborers in such states as New Jersey and Louisiana.

Everywhere Italian Americans were paid the lowest wage (even lower than the disgracefully inadequate wages which were paid to Blacks). Their work was often dangerous, and always cruelly exhausting. One railroad laborer wrote:

> At sunrise we climbed off the handcars and started laying track. There was no let up, no mercy. With nothing but coffee in the morning and bread at noon we worked ten hours every day in blistering sun and pouring rain.

Economic and Educational Problems

Economic mobility was slow and hard earned in the American *fuoco* (inferno), as one immigrant called it. Progress was achieved through the *contadino* respect for exhausting work and the code of sacrificing present needs to future interests; by saving, combined with the support of labor unions (after a short period in which the Italians unwittingly were used as scabs); and by investments in small plots of land, modest homes and small businesses. Many American cities are heavily dotted with Italian restaurants, and Italian cuisine is one of the most popular in the United States.

After several generations of hard effort, the average income of Italian-Americans came up to the national average in the 1950's and 1960's. Yet, because of *contadino* caution regarding state schools, which was made more severe by the American schools' pressures to wipe out the ethnicity of immigrants' children, and the value placed on early work for children rather than book learning (inherited from the *Mezzogiorno* social system where it made sense), Italian-Americans have one of the lowest records of formal education of all American ethnic groups.

In 1974, sociologist Andrew M. Greeley published a survey (in *Ethnicity in the United States;* New York: John Wiley and Sons) which corroborated the findings of the 1970 American Government's Census Survey, and other studies. Greeley reported that the percentages of college graduates among the adult populations in several American religions and ethnic groups were as follows:

Protestants:	
British	13.6%
German	8.6%
Scandanavian	11.4%
Irish	5.8%
Other	7.6%
Catholics:	
Irish	14.0%
German	10.5%
Italian	6.1%
Polish	5.1%
Slavic	5.1%
French	5.8%
Spanish-speaking background (Mostly Mexican and Puerto Rican)	4.1%

Other	6.7%
Jews:	
German	23.3%
Eastern European	27.5%
Other	26.0%
Blacks:	4.0%
Orientals:	20.0%
National average:	9.0%

Until the past ten or fifteen years, when third-generation Italian-Americans have entered colleges in significant numbers, the small percentage of Italian-Americans graduating from college were predominantly males who entered invividualistic occupations and professions which do not require that one uproot one's family or neglect its time-consuming demands.

The same pattern is seen among those who went into business. Small, local, family-run businesses were the rule, rather than involvement in large corporations. True to inherited ways, Italian-Americans have little "individuality" (by American standards) within their families, but act as "loners" once outside the family context. This Mezzogiorno ideal is summed up in a traditional Sicilian proverb: *chi gioca solo, non perde mai* (he who plays a lone hand will never lose).

So it is that there are appreciable numbers of Italian-American lawyers, judges, physicians, dentists, and owners of family-run businesses. The few females who graduated from college most often went into grade-school teaching or nursing. With rare exceptions Italian-Americans are absent from the higher ranks of executives in America's enormously powerful large corporations, partly as a result of anti-Italian discrimination, and partly from the desire of Italian-Americans not to give primary allegiance to an institution so disruptive of family life. Studies show that among America's ethnic groups, Italians tend more to live closer to blood relatives, and to see them more often, than do their countrymen of other ethnic backgrounds.

The Italian representation among college professors also is sparse, reflecting both the lower educational records of the group, and bias against Italian-Americans on the part of America's educated elite. For example, a study made in 1972–73 of the faculty of the large City University of New York showed that only 3 to 4 percent of the faculty were of Italian background. (This in a city where there are 1.2 million Italian-Americans, ringed by suburban counties containing an addi-

tional 1.5 to 2 million Italian-Americans, approximately 25 percent of the combined areas.)

Church Relations

The Italian immigrants to the United States confronted a Roman Catholic Church which was controlled by Irish Americans, who were the first Catholics to come to the United States in large numbers, starting in 1846, long before the Italian immigration, which peaked in the years from 1900 to 1914. The Irish Church, and hence its American counterpart, was one with ways which were very different from those of Italian Catholicism.

Despite the heroic work which was done in helping Italians by some priests and nuns on local levels, including Mother Francesca Cabrini, the first American citizen who was made a saint by the Church, the upper hierarchy of the American Church was not of much help to Italian immigrants.

In many cases, the Church added to the problems of the Italians, who were regarded often as supersititious, "not really Catholic" by Irish-American standards, and anti-clerical. In Ireland, the Church historically stood with the ordinary people against the common oppressor, Protestant Britain. In the Mezzogiorno, the upper Church hierarchy was identified with the oppressive large landholders in the Kingdom of Naples, with its archaic amalgam of feudalism and merchantism, a pattern of land ownership which the "new Italy" failed to reform successfully after 1860.

Many American parishes refused to say Mass in Italian for the immigrants, or forced them to worship in church basements. Italian children who attended parochial schools (perhaps 1 in 7) confronted Irish- and German-American teachers who were ignorant of their background and often hostile to it. To this day, there never has been an American Cardinal of Italian background, and of over 250 bishops only five are of Italian heritage.

Prejudice and Discrimination

Many Americans gave expression to their hatred of Italians and their fears of competition from them by intense and widespread defamation. Insulting terms came into common and open usage (e.g., *dago*, a term probably of British origin, first used against Spaniards and a play on the common Spanish name, *Diego*; and *wop*, perhaps the acronym of "With Out Papers," as many Italian immigrants

were when they were inspected by American customs officials).

Taking their cue from certain Northern Italians, such as Civil War hero Luigi Palma di Cesnola, who had gone on to become the first director of the prestigious Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, Americans claimed that the Italian immigrants were "not really Italian." The southern Italians were prejudicially perceived as culturally inferior and even as innately irrational and stupid.

The historic antagonism between North and South Italy was based partly on Northern ignorance of the South, a self-perpetuating ignorance which may be observed in present-day Italy in such attitudes as "one doesn't travel south of Rome." The anti-Southern bigotry also is visible in current Italian media. For example, exploitation of ridiculous southern caricatures is a regular feature of films by the talented Italian director of Swiss-Italian background, Lina Wertmuller.

Black Hand activity in America's Italian slums (although petty extortion was a common crime among many other immigrant groups as well) was seized upon as confirmation of the slander that Southern Italian culture is inherently criminal. The notion was born of sensationalist and frantic news of the Mafia and Camorra generated by the turn-of-the-century "war" against these institutions being waged by the Italian government, in most cases a campaign against brigands.

While Blacks have suffered most from lynching, the largest single lynching in American history took place in New Orleans on March 14, 1891. The victims were eleven Italian-Americans, objects of a carefully planned and organized anti-Italian persecution, which was masked by the murderers as a "desperate struggle" to save the city from being "taken over" by the Mafia.

Later, when Italian-American thugs moved up to take their place with criminals of other ethnic groups, lured by the fabulous profits made possible by the folly of America's prohibition against the manufacture and sale of alcohol from 1920 to 1933, the slander of criminality against the entire Italian ethnic group became fixed. It persists into the present — despite contrary information. For example, a 1967 report by the F.B.I. stated that 5,000 individuals were involved in organized crime in the United States. Even if all of these criminals were of Italian background, and they were not, the figure would represent only a miniscule fraction of the Italian-American population, which is variously estimated as ranging from 10 to 20 million.

Although the American media have reduced portraying other ethnic groups in demeaning, stereotyped ways, portrayal of Italian-Americans is still almost exclusively in one of two images — as

uncultured buffoons or as criminals. Italian-Americans have not as yet developed corps of educated and influential professionals in films, television and journalism sufficient to combat the maligning. Nor have they developed sophisticated, effective organizations to combat defamation as other groups have done, for example, Blacks, with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Jews with the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. Hardly a night goes by when the two anti-Italian stereotypes are not exploited on American television, and they also are staples of American movies and folklore.

Although Italian-Americans cover a wide spectrum of social and political positions running from the left (e.g., the late New York City Congressman Vito Marcantonio) to the right (e.g., Philadelphia's Mayor Frank Rizzo), they are today popularly thought of as "reactionary," and are scapegoated for America's racial problems — the latest evolution of the two stereotypes. This despite studies which consistently give the lie to the slanders.

America's elites in areas such as politics, education, media, and business corporations, remain woefully ignorant of, and misinformed about, the history and current realities of Italian-Americans. The objective problems facing this ethnic group are still severe, and their amelioration is crippled by ignorance of the group and bias against it.

Another part of the problem lies in Italian-Americans themselves — in ignorance of their own history; in generational conflicts between those close to Italy (immigrant and second generations) and those whose parents were born in the United States: and in the confusing melting-pot pressures of past and present America. The confusion of pride and shame is well illustrated, if in extreme, by Mario Puzo's personal experience* of growing into his Italian-American identity, described in the essay, "Choosing a Dream: Italians in Hell's Kitchen":

> As a child in my adolescence, living in the heart of New York's Neapolitan ghetto, I never heard an Italian singing. None of the grownups I knew were charming, loving or understanding. [The positive image of propaganda.] Rather they seemed coarse, vulgar, and insulting. [The images of demeaning sterotypes.]
>
> When I came to my "autobiographical novel" *The Fortunate Pilgrim* . . . all those old-style grim conservative Italians whom I hated, then

*In *The Immigrant Experience: The Anguish of Becoming American*. Edited by Thomas C. Wheeler. New York: Dial Press, 1971, pages 35, 47, 48. Reprinted with permission.

pitied so patronizingly, they also turned out to be heroes. Through no desire of mine. I was surprised. The thing that amazed me most was their courage . . . How did they ever have the balls to get married, have kids, go out to earn a living in a strange land, with no skills, not even knowing the language? They made it without tranquilizers, without sleeping pills, without psychiatrists, without even a dream. Heroes. Heroes all around me. I never saw them.

But how could I? They wore lumpy work clothes and handle bar moustaches, they blew their noses on their fingers and they were so short that their high school children towered over them. They spoke a laughable broken English and the furthest limit of their horizon was their daily bread. Brave men, brave women, they fought to live their lives without dreams. Bent on survival, they narrowed their minds to the thinnest line of existence.

It is no wonder that in my youth I found them contemptible. And yet they had left Italy and sailed the ocean to come to America. Illiterate Colombos, they dared to seek the promised land. And so they, too, dreamed a dream.

Italian Americans Today

However, despite obstacles of external prejudice and exploitation, despite debilitating self-conflict and confusion, many Italians of the great immigration and their descendants have achieved outstanding success in America, especially in those areas which place a premium on individual talent, and hence where it is easier to overcome prejudice — in some professions, entertainment, and sports. Among the famous names in *entertainment* are Frank Capra, Ernest Borgnine, Al Pacino, Anne Bancroft (nee Anna Maria Italiano); in *sports*: Joe DiMaggio, Rocky Marciano, Mario Andretti, Eddie Arcaro; in *music*: Anna Moffo and Gian-Carlo Menotti; in *public affairs*: Ella Grasso and John Sirica. These represent but a few of the many.

Although they have many problems still to overcome, Italian-Americans have come a long way against great obstacles from humble beginnings in the United States, origins illustrated by the typical cases of my maternal grandparents who arrived here from Palermo without money or education, and followed a few years later by my father, then thirteen years old, with cloths wrapped around his feet because his family was too poor to afford shoes.

America has been touted as the land of freedom and opportunity, and indeed it is, but this "opportunity" demands work, struggle, sacrifice, courage and tenacity. However, America also provides real hope that perhaps these characteristics may in time be rewarded, a

hope utterly without basis in the old Mezzogiorno. Thus, Italian-Americans, while retaining their historic Italian identification and a special love for Italy's people and land, also are intensely loyal to their American identity and the United States.

There is an apocryphal story of an Italian immigrant around the turn of the century who was supposed to have heard that the streets of America's cities were paved with gold. When he arrived, the tale goes, he learned three things: (1) the streets were not paved with gold; (2) they were not paved at all; and (3) *he* was expected to pave them.

We *have* paved America's streets, contributed to its culture, fought for its life and interest (the leading American flying ace in World War II, who shot down 42 German planes, was Donald Gentile, son of Italian immigrants), and participated decently and fruitfully in every area of American life. We continue to do so, and reflect, even the most "assimilated" third and fourth generations in America, the words of the poet Robert Browning, "Open my heart, and you will see graved inside of it 'Italy'."

Although the ability to speak Italian has been lost or weakened in the American-born, most of whom have no *educated* knowledge of their roots, Italian-Americans retain many of the essential cultural and psychological patterns of the old country, even those who do not recognize this or would deny it. Because of this continuity, as well as because of the work of the earlier Italian explorers and settlers, we may well say, to borrow the title of a work by my friend and fellow Sicilian-American, Jerre Mangione: *America Is Also Italian.*

SUGGESTED ADDITIONAL READINGS

Amfitheatrof, Eric. *The Children of Columbus: An Informal History of the Italians in the New World.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1973.

This book provides the reader with an understanding of the Italian perspective and of why some individuals reacted as they did upon their arrival in the U.S. History is presented through biographical sketches of significant Italian-Americans.

DeConde, Alexander. *Half Bitter/Half Sweet: An Excursion into Italian-American History.* New York: Scribner, 1971.

Experiences, pleasant and unpleasant of Italian-Americans.

Gambino, Richard. *Blood of My Blood: The Dilemma of Italian-Americans.* New York: Doubleday, 1974.

A personal reflection of historical, social and psychological aspects of first, second, and third-generation Italian-Americans. Autobiographical incidents illuminate an examination of the stereotype of the Italian in

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America as well as the conflicts existing in third and even fourth-generation Italian-Americans because of persisting "ethnicity" exhibited by their parents.

Lopreato, Joseph. *Italian-Americans*. New York: Random House, 1970.
Objective study of the origins and experiences of the Italian-Americans as an ethnic group, propounding a comprehensive sociological assessment dealing with patterns of social organization, cultural traditions and daily activities. Analysis of an ethnic group whose members are commonly described as the archetypical new immigrants. Intergroup relations, assimilation and group maintenance all are treated here.

Rolle, Andrew F. *The American Italians: Their History and Culture*. Belmont, California: Wadsworth, 1972.
An historical approach to the problems of Italian-Americans, commencing with the reasons behind the migration of the Italians to America. A second theme revolves around the difficulties which they encountered in America and, finally, how the challenge of the new land and close contact with members of other minorities often inadvertently led to their assimilation.

Van Doren, C. and Moquin, W. *A Documentary History of the Italian-Americans*. New York: Praeger, 1974.
A compact version of the Italian-American experience.

Tomasi, Silvano and Engel, Madeline H. *The Italian Experience in the United States*. Staten Island, New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1970.
An unusually objective and informative account of the Italian experience in America. Analysis of basic institutions — family, church, education, employment, and urban life.

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The Japanese-American Experience

By Bob H. Suzuki

Formal relations between Japan and the United States began with the arrival of Commodore Matthew Perry's squadron of gunboats in Tokyo Bay on July 8, 1853. Perry had been sent by the U.S. Government to force Japan, literally at gunpoint, to open its ports to American ships after their having been closed to Western nations over 200 years earlier.

At the time of Perry's arrival, Japan was a highly culturally advanced society with a long history of development as a nation which dated back to the 4th century A.D., the period when it was first unified under imperial rule. This development was strongly influenced by Chinese civilization from which Japan borrowed on a massive scale for several hundred years from the 5th century on. In the 12th century, the Japanese Imperial Government became impotent and was gradually supplanted by a military administration. The Emperior was reduced to a figurehead and most of his power was assumed by the Shogun, or generalissimo, who was designated commander-in-chief of all imperial troops.

This centralized shogunate rule, in turn, disintegrated during the 14th century, when political dissension and civil warfare became endemic throughout the country. As local lords, called *daimyo*, gained nearly autonomous control over their domains, a system of government and land ownership evolved which closely resembled that of the period of high feudalism in 12th century Europe.

Centralized shogunate rule was re-established in 1603 when Ieyasu Tokugawa assumed the title of Shogun and began the 265-year reign of the powerful Tokugawa family. In order to insure political stability and the maintenance of their dominant position, the Tokugawa froze the feudalistic system which they had inherited by instituting a rigid four-class social hierarchy consisting, in descending order, of samurai (warriors), peasants, artisans, and merchants.

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Furthermore, due to their growing concern over the disruptive influences of Christian missionaries and avaricious traders, the Shogunate conducted an intensive campaign to suppress Christianity and began, increasingly, to curtail relations with Western nations. In 1638, Japanese were forbidden, under penalty of death, to leave the country. Finally, a decree issued in 1639 closed all Japanese ports to foreign ships except those of the Dutch and Chinese.

Insulated by these measures from Western influences, the system devised by the Tokugawa proved to be remarkably viable and maintained a state of relative peace and calm in Japan for over two centuries. By this time the earlier dominant influence of Chinese culture had largely subsided and most of the cultural developments of the Tokugawa period (1603–1868) were distinctively and uniquely Japanese.

A few examples of these developments are woodblock printing, haiku poetry, Kabuki theater and production of various handicraft goods of unexcelled quality, including fine pottery, silk brocades and lacquer ware. Great advances also were made in educating the masses, so that by the end of the Tokugawa period, it has been estimated that literacy among males was about 45 percent and among females, 15 percent.

The first signs of disruption in the tranquility of the Tokugawa era appeared early in the 19th century when, due to serious socioeconomic dislocations at all levels of the anachronistic feudal structure, political unrest increased and peasant uprisings broke out with growing frequency. The major disruptive force, however, which ultimately led to the downfall of the Tokugawa regime, was the intrusion of the Western powers, beginning with Commodore Perry's arrival and followed shortly afterwards by similar missions from European countries.

The powerlessness of the shogunate to prevent this intrusion became embarrassingly obvious and enabled a group of young samurai to engineer a political coup which finally toppled the Tokugawa shogunate in 1868 and restored imperial rule, an event now referred to as the Meiji Restoration. In actuality, the Emperor served mainly as a symbol of authority and the powers of government were assumed by a small clique of court aristocrats and samurai who had led the overthrow.

These new leaders of Japan quickly saw the hopelessness of trying to maintain the country's isolation in the face of the action by Western powers. They also realized that Japan would remain subordinate to these powers, or worse yet, suffer the fate of other Asian

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countries by becoming colonized by them, as long as it was inferior in military strength and economic development. Under their dynamic leadership, Japan actively proceeded to acquire knowledge of Western ideas, methods and institutions and with amazing rapidity modernized its technology, industry, military, and political and economic systems.

By the turn of the 20th century, Japan had developed a strong industrial base in such diverse areas as textile manufacturing, ship building, mining and cement production, constructed a national railway and telegraph system, introduced compulsory public education, created a modern currency and banking system, fostered improved agricultural techniques, built a modern army and navy, and established a constitutional monarchy. Thus, in the incredibly short time-span of less than fifty years, Japan had been transformed from an essentially feudal society into a modern nation state and was recognized as a world power, particularly after its decisive defeat of Russia in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904.

However, despite the radical changes wrought by modernization, many of the cultural norms of the people, particularly in the rural areas, remained relatively unchanged from the Tokugawa era. Indeed, the Meiji leaders employed compulsory education to inculcate the young with a code of ethics which emphasized such traditional values as duty, obligation, obedience, respect for education, self-discipline, humility, and selfless service to the nation. Of course, even though this code seems to have been widely adopted, the lower classes did not always follow its particular rules and prescriptions, as the record of countless agrarian uprisings in the feudal period attests.

Since most of the early Japanese immigrants to the United States were born and raised during the Meiji era (1868–1912), it can be safely assumed that they were strongly influenced by the culture and events of this period.

Japanese Pioneers in America

Although some archeological evidence exists indicating that Japanese fisherman may have reached Ecuador as early as 3,000 B.C., historical accounts show that the first Japanese to arrive in the Americas were merchants and noblemen who accompanied Spanish traders to Mexico in 1610 and 1613. However, when Japan closed itself off shortly afterwards, it did not allow its subjects to go abroad again until the late 1800's. During this period of isolation, only a few

Japanese, mainly shipwrecked sailors and fishermen blown adrift by storms, appear to have reached the United States.

In 1868, the first year of the Meiji era, a group of 148 Japanese immigrants was brought to Hawaii as contract laborers to work on the sugar plantations. Difficulties experienced by this first group led Japan to suspend emigration to Hawaii for almost two decades.

The first settlement of Japanese immigrants on the United States mainland is believed to have been the short-lived Wakamatsu Tea and Silk Colony, which was established near Placerville, California in 1869. Due in part to unfavorable climatic conditions, the colony lasted only two years. While other farmers followed them, during the next two decades the flow of Japanese immigrants into the United States was only a small trickle, consisting primarily of students, merchants, and government officials.

As a result of growing rural poverty, overpopulation and other dislocations brought on by industrialization, much larger numbers of Japanese began to emigrate in the 1890's. A major external inducement was the need for cheap labor in Hawaii and in our Western states, where shortages of labor began to develop about this time because of the cutoff of Chinese immigration in 1882.

Most of these early immigrants were destitute small farmers and peasants in their twenties who came from the more economically distressed prefectures of southwestern Japan. Despite their humble backgrounds, the vast majority were literate and had completed 6 to 8 years of schooling in Japan. Like many of their European counterparts, they came to earn money, hoping to return home reasonably prosperous after a few years. While some did return, most of them remained in the United States.

As the following population figures show, the major proportion of the early Japanese immigrants came to Hawaii and the U.S. mainland between 1890 and 1920.

Japanese Population

Year	Hawaii	Mainland
1880		148
1884	116	
1890	12,610	2,038
1900	61,111	24,326
1910	79,675	72,157
1920	109,274	111,010
1930	139,631	138,834
1940	157,905	126,948

Males, predominantly unmarried, far outnumbered females during the early years of this immigration. Given the importance of family life in Japan, it may be assumed that most of the single men expected eventually to marry. However, many of them later found that they could not afford the round-trip journey to Japan for this purpose. Their hopes further faded in 1908 when under pressure from the United States Japan began restricting emigration.

It was at this time that the practice of so-called "picture-bride" marriages, arranged through photographs, started to become popular. By such marriages, which were consistent with Japanese custom, several thousand "picture brides" were ultimately joined in the United States with husbands whom they had never met before.

While these marriages considerably redressed the male-female imbalance, thousands of Japanese men were still unmarried in 1924 when Japanese immigration was halted by the United States. This cutoff of immigration also had the effect of creating rather distinct generational groups called: *Issei*—born in Japan, first-generation immigrants to the United States; *Nisei*—second-generation Japanese, first generation born in United States, children of Issei; *Sansei*—third-generation, children of Nisei. (*Sei* means generation. *Ichi* means 1; *Ni* means 2, *San* means 3.)

In Hawaii

Almost all of the early Japanese immigrants to Hawaii came as contract laborers to work on the sugar plantations. They were brought in to replace the Chinese, who, as soon as their contracts expired, had left the plantations to seek better opportunities in the towns. Conditions on the plantations were not unlike those of the pre-Civil War American South. Contracts were bought and sold like chattel property, workers were flogged or jailed if they disobeyed their overseers or owners, and wages were barely at the subsistence level.

In the face of such conditions, the Japanese plantation workers began to organize themselves into unions. Between 1900 and 1920, thousands of workers engaged in numerous work stoppages and strikes for higher wages and better working conditions. Hundreds were jailed, many injured and some even killed when police were called in to stop these actions.

The white oligarchy, known as the "Big Five," which controlled the sugar industry and all of the other major economic enterprises on the Hawaiian Islands, usually would break these strikes by bringing in laborers of other races as scabs and pitting them against the

Japanese. Few gains were made until the late 1930's when the unions were finally able to achieve some degree of interracial unity among the workers and force the Big Five to negotiate contracts. During this period, Hawaii was anything but the "melting pot" paradise often depicted by writers.

Gradually, like the Chinese before them, the Japanese also began leaving the plantations to seek better opportunities. Their places were taken by Puerto Ricans, Koreans, Portuguese, and Filipinos, who were successively brought in to meet the continuing need for cheap labor in the Islands. Although some of the Japanese went on to the mainland, most of them entered other occupations or established small businesses in the growing Japanese communities in the towns of Hawaii. They later provided many of the essential services and much of the necessary semi-skilled labor required for the economic growth of the Islands. Since the Japanese immigrants constituted the largest labor force in Hawaii, they played a major role in its agricultural, industrial and commercial development.

On the U.S. Mainland

The early Japanese immigrants to the U.S. mainland settled mainly in the Western states, concentrating initially around Seattle, Portland, San Francisco, Sacramento, and the San Joaquin Valley. No significant numbers of Japanese settled in the Los Angeles area until after the San Francisco earthquake of 1906, when many of them decided to move south due to greater economic opportunities and increasing anti-Japanese agitation in the San Francisco area.

Although the largest share of these early immigrants were recruited as cheap labor for the expanding agricultural industry of the Western states, many of them also found their first jobs in a variety of other fields such as railroad construction, canneries, logging and lumbering, mining, domestic work, gardening and fishing—fields in which the demand for unskilled labor was high. Since they were denied entry into most labor unions, the Japanese often engaged in their own collective tactics, such as work "slowdowns," to force wages up and improve working conditions. Some of them were accepted by a few unions and were involved in numerous union-led strikes during the period from the early 1900's until the late 1930's.

Later, as their economic status improved, many of the Japanese leased or bought farms, or moved into the cities to open small businesses. Due to discrimination, they were forced to develop their own largely self-sufficient communities — the Little Tokyos, Japantowns

and Nihonmachis — which could meet most of the needs of the Japanese-American populace. The remarkable success of these communities has been attributed to the unique Japanese kinship system, which the immigrants adapted to their new circumstances to establish the extensive networks of family and community organizations which provided them with mutual assistance, collective security and a meaningful social life.

One of the first and largest community organizations to be formed was the Japanese Association of America, which the Issei organized in 1900 to protect themselves against anti-Japanese agitators. It later provided a wide variety of other services for 40 years, but was disbanded during World War II. The other community organization that should be mentioned is the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) which was formed by a small group of Nisei in 1930, primarily to protect the rights and interests of American-born Japanese.

While they made important contributions in many fields, the major contribution of the Japanese immigrants to the development of the American West was undoubtedly in agriculture. Since discriminatory laws made it difficult for them to buy or even lease land, they had to reclaim much of the land they cultivated and are credited with making thousands of acres of previously worthless property highly productive. Particularly impressive are their achievements in California, where they pioneered the rice industry, dominated the production of commercial truck crops, and played a vital role in creating the system of marketing farm produce — developments which contributed significantly to making California the leading agricultural state in our nation.

The "Yellow Peril" Movement

The contributions of the Japanese in the United States are perhaps even more impressive when considered in the light of the intense discrimination they encountered during the period, 1900 to 1924, when all means — including violence — were used by anti-Japanese groups to deny the Japanese their basic rights, obstruct their progress and, above all, stop their immigration into this country. Although a similar movement did not develop in Hawaii, the Japanese were probably one of the most repressed and suspect ethnic groups on the Islands until after World War II. The absence of an anti-Japanese movement may be attributed to the iron-fisted control of the Islands by the Big Five, which needed cheap labor, and to the

fact that racial "minority groups" were in the majority in Hawaii.

Initially, the Japanese immigrants on the West Coast appear to have been welcomed as a much needed source of cheap and dependable labor. However, as their numbers grew, strong objections to their presence were raised by such leaders as Dennis Kearney, the political demogogue who had led the earlier, more virulent anti-Chinese movement, and Samuel Gompers, the founder of the American Federation of Labor, whose rabidly anti-Asian sentiments were well known.

As in the anti-Chinese movement, the labor unions in California took the lead in mounting the campaign against the Japanese. They were later joined by numerous other pressure groups including the influential Native Sons of the Golden West, the American Legion and various farm groups, represented chiefly by the California State Grange. A major role was played early in the campaign by the press, especially the Hearst newspapers in California, which ran lurid, grossly distorted stories about the Japanese with such headlines as, "THE JAPANESE INVASION, THE PROBLEM OF THE HOUR," "JAPANESE A MENACE TO AMERICAN WOMEN" and "THE YELLOW PERIL—HOW JAPANESE CROWD OUT THE WHITE RACE."

As the campaign gained momentum, increasing numbers of political leaders added their voices to the growing demand for the exclusion of Japanese immigrants. As a result, a trivial issue — the presence of a mere 93 Japanese children in the San Francisco schools — was made into a *cause celebre* and led the San Francisco School Board, in 1906, to order all of the Japanese children to be segregated in the Oriental School, which had been established earlier to segregate Chinese and Korean children.

Japan considered the order a gross racial insult and protested the matter to President Theodore Roosevelt. Inasmuch as Japan had just emerged as a world power after soundly defeating Russia, President Roosevelt treated the matter quite prudently and finally persuaded the school board to rescind its order. In return, he negotiated an agreement with Japan, known as the Gentlemen's Agreement, under which Japan agreed to "voluntarily" halt the emigration of laborers starting in 1908.

However, since the agreement allowed "picture brides" to immigrate, it did not satisfy the exclusionists who demanded total exclusion. Thus, they continued their attack, rallying their forces with the cry, "The Japs Must Go!" Their rabble-rousing succeeded in instigating numerous acts of violence against the Japanese. They won a major victory in 1913 when the California Legislature passed the

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Alien Land Law which prohibited "aliens ineligible for citizenship" (a euphemism used to designate Asian aliens) from buying land and was intended to force the Japanese out of their highly successful ventures in farming.

When the law proved ineffective because of certain loopholes, in 1920 the legislature passed another law which closed the loopholes and imposed further restrictions. Insult was added to injury when the U.S. Supreme Court, in 1922, upheld an earlier lower court ruling that the Issei were, indeed, "aliens ineligible for citizenship," a category established by a 19th-century immigration statute.

Inspired by these victories, the exclusionists pressed their cause at the national level and lobbied to have an exclusion act passed by the U.S. Congress. As it turned out, their efforts coincided with a growing national reaction against the millions of immigrants who had entered the United States since the beginning of the 20th century from the countries of Southern and Eastern Europe. This led to the passage of the National Origins Quota Act of 1924, which imposed restrictive and discriminatory quotas on further immigration from these countries. The act also contained an amendment, added through some deceptive political maneuvering, which effectively brought an end to further Japanese immigration. At the time, the combined Japanese population of Hawaii and the mainland was minuscule, amounting to less than two-tenths of one percent of the total U.S. population.

Having finally achieved their long-sought goal, the exclusionists had very little to do for the next decade and a half until the outbreak of World War II. Tragically, however, most Americans greatly underestimated the severity of the reaction in Japan. When news of the law's passage reached Japan, a wave of anti-American demonstrations swept the country, inciting one patriot to commit *hara kiri* in front of the American Embassy. In retrospect, some historians have suggested that the resulting animosity toward the United States may have enabled the Japanese ultra-nationalists and imperialists to thwart and gain ascendancy over the liberal movement in Japan and, ultimately, to initiate the military adventures that led to the attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941.

World War II Detention Program

While the attack on Pearl Harbor cannot be fully comprehended without reviewing the history of Western imperialism in Asia, including the ramifications of Commodore Perry's "opening" of Japan, its more immediate cause was the breakdown in negotiations between

the United States and Japan over the latter's military aggressions against China. Although the American public was aware of the growing animosity between the two countries, the devastating attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, was a stunning surprise to most of the nation. However, confidential documents declassified only a few years ago have revealed that President Franklin D. Roosevelt and his top aides knew that such an attack was imminent, yet failed to notify the military commanders at Pearl Harbor in sufficient time to avert the disaster.

For Japanese Americans, the attack was a long-dreaded nightmare come true. West Coast newspapers almost immediately began publishing racist tirades against the Japanese "Yellow Peril" and rumor-based stories of acts of espionage and sabotage committed by Japanese Americans. These stories gained considerable credence when high government officials issued reports, later found to be totally without basis, about purported fifth column activities in aid of the attack by Japanese Americans in Hawaii.

As a result, there was growing hysteria and fear among the public concerning the danger presented by Japanese Americans. Before long, numerous groups and individuals of varied political persuasions, including the now reactivated exclusionist groups and such public figures as Earl Warren and Walter Lippmann, were clamoring for the removal of the Japanese from the West Coast. A few Quaker groups and American Civil Liberties Union chapters were practically alone in expressing dissent against the campaign.

Finally, on February 19, 1942, President Roosevelt issued an executive order which authorized the military to remove the Japanese from the coastal areas of the three Western states and to provide for their "accommodation as necessary." The reason given for the issuance of the order was "military necessity"; i.e., that the Japanese, whether citizens or not, posed a threat to the internal security of this country. However, no reasons were given to explain why the order was not also being applied to Americans of German or Italian ancestry, or why the Japanese in Hawaii, numbering over 160,000, were not also being removed.

It is now generally agreed that the actions taken against the Japanese on the West Coast were primarily the result of racism, economic opportunism and political expediency, rather than military necessity. In fact, it was later found that there was no evidence of a single act of espionage or sabotage by a Japanese American. As to

*Her book, *Years of Infamy*, gives a firsthand account of the concentration camp experience. See "Suggested Additional Readings."

political expediency, Michi Weglyn* suggests that one of the motives behind the actions may have been a strategem by officials in the Roosevelt administration to use the Japanese Americans as hostages in bartering for the exchange of American prisoners-of-war held by Japan.

The President's executive order affected more than 110,000 Japanese Americans. Over two-thirds were American-born citizens. Beginning in March, 1942, often with only a few days notice, the Japanese were rounded up and herded *en masse* into such facilities as racetracks and livestock pavilions, which had been converted into temporary detention centers. Later, during the summer, they were transferred to ten more permanent concentration camps, euphemistically called "relocation centers," which had been hastily erected in barren, desolate areas in various isolated regions of the country.* These camps consisted of tar-papered barracks surrounded by barbed-wire fences and guarded by watch towers manned by soldiers with machine guns. While they cannot be compared with the "death camps" of Nazi Germany, they obviously had all the characteristics of concentration camps.

The Japanese for the most part cooperated with their captors and tried to make the best of their situation. Given the mass hysteria against them, active resistance seemed futile and, in fact, could have led to calamitous consequences. This is not to say that the camps were without conflict. At least seven internees are known to have been slain by sentries in the camps, many more were seriously wounded, hundreds were beaten or jailed, and hundreds more participated in strikes and demonstrations. Those who resisted the draft, including a group of 63 in one camp, were sent to Federal penitentiaries. Over 10,000 others were inducted into the all-Japanese-American 442nd Regimental Combat Team, which became famous as the most decorated unit in U.S. Army history, but at the cost of one of the highest casualty rates. Another 18,000 so-called "disloyals" were segregated in a special maximum security camp, and some 8,000 of them were deported to Japan after the war.

Generally, however, life in the camps tended to be desultory, meaningless, and demoralizing. Although varied jobs were available, most jobs paid only $12 to $16 per month. Camp authorities usually picked Nisei rather than Issei, whom they distrusted, for positions of

*Two camps were in Arkansas — Jerome and Rohwer; two in Arizona — Gila River and Poston; two in California — Manzanar and Tule Lake; and one each at Granada, Colorado; Minidoka, Idaho; Topaz, Utah, and Heart Mountain, Wyoming.

higher responsibility. This undermined the traditional role of the Issei elders and caused considerable alienation between the two groups.

Family life also was upset in the camps. Parents often lost control of their children, and teenage gang fights sometimes erupted. Relations between husbands and wives also often became quite strained. Yet, in spite of these trying circumstances, the internees showed amazing fortitude and managed to organize many activities to reduce the monotony of their existence and to improve their dismal environments.

In December, 1944, after the Japanese Americans had been incarcerated for nearly three years, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled, in a test case, that the Federal Government had no right to detain loyal American citizens in the camps. As a result of this decision, the Government revoked its detention order in January, 1945, and began to release the internees. By the end of 1945, almost all of them had left the camps.

Some final comments should be made in regard to the experience of the Japanese in Hawaii during World War II. Although they were not removed and interned (except for several hundred so-called "high-risk" community leaders), such a plan, in fact, was considered. It was not implemented, however, mainly because the removal of the Japanese would have been devastating to the economy of the Islands. Throughout the war, the Japanese were viewed with great distrust and were subjected to many abuses and restrictions. Forced to "prove their loyalty in blood," more than 10,000 Japanese in Hawaii volunteered for the 442nd Regimental Combat Team and suffered three times the casualties of any ethnic group from the Islands.

The Post-War Years

After their release from detention camps, the majority of the Japanese-American internees returned to the West Coast hoping to rebuild their shattered lives in familiar surroundings. Significant numbers also resettled on the East Coast or in the Midwest to try their luck in completely new environments. Most of the internees had lost everything during the war; their total losses were conservatively estimated by the Federal Reserve Bank to be $400 million. Other estimates reach that figure for California alone.

Those who returned to the West Coast were initially greeted with extreme hostility; in a few cases, with bombs and bullets. They had difficulty finding decent jobs since many were not open to them. The

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East Coast and Midwest appeared to be somewhat more receptive to the internees, and more jobs were generally available to them in these parts of the country.

In a few years, hostile feelings began to subside, and the general attitude of the public toward Japanese Americans gradually improved. In 1952 Congress passed laws which granted citizenship rights to the Issei, restored a token quota for Japanese immigration, and provided a partial — if meager — compensation for wartime losses. The alien land laws were gradually repealed or declared unconstitutional, although the last one remained on the books until 1967.

Starting in the 1950's, the job market began to improve measurably for the Nisei. This was due in large part to the fact that the two decades following World War II constituted a period in which technology, automation and bureaucracies underwent unparalleled growth, creating a high demand for appropriately trained technical-scientific workers. Since a large proportion of the Nisei had gone to college and had been educated in these particular fields, they were in a good position to help meet this demand. In fact, by 1960, the census showed that Japanese Americans had the highest median income of any minority group, and a higher educational level than whites.

Perhaps the most profound effect of their detention camp experience was on the psychological adjustment of Japanese Americans, especially the Nisei, in the post-war period. Many of them felt deeply stigmatized by the experience. As Michi Weglyn put it in a newspaper interview, "We felt as if we had been raped . . . [We were] ashamed and reluctant to talk about that period."

Having experienced the all-too-painful consequences of their ethnic identity, many Nisei undoubtedly decided, consciously or unconsciously, to reject all vestiges of Japanese culture and to acculturate as quickly as possible into the American mainstream, to become "200 percent Americans."

To achieve this goal, it seemed prudent for them to adopt a low-profile strategy that would not attract too much attention nor elicit adverse reaction. Thus, it is understandable why the Nisei has been stereotyped as quiet, hardworking, non-assertive, dependable and accommodating — attributes which many writers have credited for the dramatic rise in the social status of Japanese Americans in the period following World War II.

The Japanese in Hawaii chose a different strategy in their bid for upward social mobility. In the wake of their wartime efforts, they no longer were content with second-class citizenship and were deter-

mined to bring about a change. It was clear to Nisei leaders that Japanese Americans, who constituted over one-third of the population, could become a powerful political force in the Islands. In order to mobilize this ethnic bloc and also to capitalize on the heroic war record of the 442nd Combat Team, the Nisei decided to run veterans of the Team for political office. This strategy ultimately succeeded and was instrumental in the rise of Hawaii's Democratic Party, which overwhelmed the long-entrenched Republicans in the territorial elections of 1954.

Since 1959 when Hawaii achieved statehood, three Nisei have been elected to the U.S. Congress and the Japanese have dominated politics within the state. The success of the Japanese in politics was paralleled by their success in most other fields. Particularly in the post-war period of rapid economic growth in the Islands, there was a substantial movement of Japanese from blue-collar jobs to white-collar professions. This shift was reflected in the 1960 census which showed that the socioeconomic status of the Japanese in Hawaii was about equal to that of the mainland Japanese.

It is obvious, however, that the socio-political conditions faced by the Japanese in Hawaii were quite different from those faced by the mainland Japanese. On the one hand, as a minuscule minority, the mainland Japanese chose a path of acculturation and accommodation; on the other hand, as the majority group, the Japanese in Hawaii sought political power. In the process, they appear to have acculturated to a lesser degree than have their mainland counterparts. This sometimes has been a source of friction between the two groups. The Japanese in Hawaii accuse the mainland Japanese of being "whitewashed"; while the latter accuse the former of being backward "pineapple pickers."

Japanese Americans Today

According to the 1970 census, there were nearly 600,000 Japanese Americans in the United States. Over 75 percent of them lived in the three Western states and Hawaii. Of these states, California and Hawaii had the two largest populations with 213,000 and 217,000 respectively. Sizable concentrations also were found in Salt Lake City, Denver, Chicago, and New York City. Although generational lines have blurred somewhat due to a substantial increase in immigration since 1965, one can still meaningfully describe the population in terms of the well-known generational categories. Thus, generally speaking, on the mainland most of the Issei have now

passed away; the Nisei are in their late 50's and early 60's and are approaching retirement; their children, the Sansei, are in their 20's and are starting to produce the fourth generation, the Yonsei. In Hawaii, the average age of each generation is a little older.

The 1970 census also revealed that Japanese Americans made substantial economic gains since 1960. In particular, it showed that their median family income had risen above that of white families and that their median years of schooling was 12.5 years compared to 12.1 years for whites. Studies over the past three decades also have shown consistently that Japanese Americans have among the lowest rates of crime, delinquency, divorce and mental illness of any ethnic group. Given these facts, some writers have referred to them as the "model minority."

In attempting to explain this seemingly phenomenal success, social scientists generally have attributed it to unique Japanese-American cultural characteristics: strong family structure, emphasis on education, Protestant-type work ethic and high achievement motivation — values deeply rooted in the cultural milieu of Meiji-era Japan. Even if such a theory could explain the success of the Nisei, it does not appear applicable to the Sansei, who show signs of acculturating to a far greater degree than do the Nisei.

In fact, studies have shown that the Sansei have retained very little of Japanese culture, that their cultural norms are becoming identical with those of the white American middle class; and that their outmarriage rates are as high as 50 percent. Consequently, it has been predicted that Japanese Americans will be completely acculturated in the very near future and will exhibit a corresponding rise in social deviance.

However, by analyzing the data from a broader, alternative perspective, one can arrive at some very different interpretations and conclusions. First of all, the influence of cultural values on the behavior of Japanese Americans should not be considered independent of the social system in which these values are embedded. Although they shared a common cultural background, the upward social mobility of the Hawaii and mainland Japanese cannot be solely attributed to their cultural value system. Rather, as discussed in the previous section, the two groups achieved upward mobility through adaptive mechanisms that were quite different because of differences in their socio-political environments.

Secondly, the widely-touted economic success of Japanese Americans is problematical. Despite the high median income of Japanese-American families, recent studies show that Japanese-

American males may still be earning less than their white counterparts who have the same amount of schooling. It has been suggested that this may be due to the stratification of Japanese-American males, particularly on the mainland, in lower-echelon white-collar positions. This stratification may be explained in part by the subtle forms of discrimination and socialization which mainland Japanese are subjected to in schooling and employment.

Finally, it also is not clear that complete acculturation will be the inevitable fate of Japanese Americans. Recent theories of intergroup relations — as delineated by William M. Newman in *American Pluralism* (New York: Harper and Row, 1973) — have questioned the idea that assimilation is a linear, irreversible process. As a matter of fact, Newman's work suggests that Japanese Americans constitute a group which has reversed the process and has chosen not to acculturate fully. In any event, it seems clear that Japanese Americans are still facing the problems of a minority group and that it is premature to celebrate their "arrival" in the American mainstream or to speculate on the inevitability of their future status in American society.

The Role of Japanese Americans

As described in the preceding pages, Japanese Americans played a major role in the development of the Western United States and Hawaii through their contributions in agriculture, railroad construction, fishing, mining, lumbering, small businesses and numerous other areas of industry and commerce. These contributions were made not just by a few individual "superstars," but primarily through the industry, fortitude, ingenuity and struggles of tens of thousands of workers and other common people whose names are largely unknown. In more contemporary times, Japanese Americans have entered a wide variety of other fields and endeavors, and have made multitudinous contributions in almost all sectors of American society.

Any listing of notable Japanese Americans would tend to emphasize the achievements of an exceptional few and, consequently, may have the unfortunate effect of undercutting the major role of the masses of common people. It may also reinforce the "model minority" image of Japanese Americans and serve to perpetuate the pernicious myth that the Japanese-American community takes care of its own and faces no serious social problems. The wide acceptance of this myth as fact has made it difficult for the Japanese-American community to obtain assistance for much-needed social programs and,

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moreover, has been exploited in attempts to discredit the protests and demands for social justice of other minority groups, who have often been admonished to follow the "shining example" set by Japanese Americans.

Accordingly, with the above concerns in mind, the Japanese Americans listed below were selected not only because of their personal achievements, but also because they have made significant contributions to the advancement of the political, civil and human rights of Japanese Americans as a group and are symbolic of the collective struggles of Japanese Americans against the formidable social, economic and legal barriers encountered by them throughout their history in the United States.

SOME NOTABLE JAPANESE AMERICANS

Ariyoshi, George. Elected lieutenant governor of the state of Hawaii in 1970. With the resignation of Governor John Burns in 1974, he became the first Japanese-American governor of Hawaii.

Furutani, Warren. Formerly a community relations coordinator for the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), he is currently among the most articulate and dynamic of the young activist organizers in the Japanese-American community.

Hirabayashi, Gordon. His arrest in 1942 for his courageous violation of a curfew order discriminatorily imposed on Japanese Americans led to the famous test case of Hirabayashi vs. U.S.

Inouye, Daniel. Became the first Japanese American to serve in the U.S. Congress when he was elected as the first Representative from Hawaii in 1959. He was elected U.S. Senator from Hawaii in 1962.

Kochiyama, Yuri (Mary). Long-time community activist in New York City. She has been in the forefront of numerous movements for human and democratic rights for Third World minorities.

Masaoka, Mike. The leading spokesman for the Japanese American Citizens League for almost three decades. He was instrumental in obtaining the passage of important legislation beneficial to Japanese Americans.

Makino, Fred. One of the leaders of the strikes by Japanese workers against the Hawaiian sugar plantations in the early 1900's and the founder and editor of the militant newspaper, *Hawaii Hochi*.

Matsunaga, Spark. Elected U.S. Representative from Hawaii in 1962. Primary Congressional leader of the successful effort to repeal the Emergency Detention Act of 1950. In 1976, he was elected U.S. Senator from Hawaii.

Mineta, Norman. Former mayor of San Jose, California, in 1974 he became the first mainland Nisei to be elected to the U.S. House of Representatives.

Mink, Patsy. Elected U.S. Representative from Hawaii in 1964, and became first Asian woman to serve in Congress. In 1977, she was appointed by President Jimmy Carter as Assistant Secretary of State for Ocean and Environmental Affairs.

Miyamoto, Nobuko (Joanne). Songwriter, singer and community activist who has directed her musical talents toward the support of Third-World groups engaged in progressive social action.

Okada, John. Author of *No-No Boy* (San Francisco: CARP Pub. Co., 1957, reprinted in 1976), a novel about a Japanese-American draft resister and his difficulties of adjustment after World War II. The book is belatedly becoming recognized as one of the great works of American fiction.

Okamoto, Kiyoshi. Leader of the "Heart Mountain Sixty-Three," a group of Japanese-American draft resisters in the Heart Mountain detention center who were convicted of draft evasion and sent to prision during the Second World War.

Okura, Patrick. A former National President of the JACL, he is currently the executive assistant to the Director of the National Institute of Mental Health and a strong advocate of the interests of Asian Americans.

Satow, Masao. National Director of the JACL for almost three decades until his retirement in 1973. Since his death in 1976, he has been memorialized for his many years of selfless devotion and service to the JACL.

Takasugi, Robert. Prior to his appointment as a municipal judge in 1972, he had developed a reputation as a tough and courageous defender of minority and indigent groups. In 1976 he became the first mainland Nisei to ascend to a Federal judgeship when he was appointed to the U.S. District Court bench in Los Angeles.

Weglyn, Michi. Author of the widely-acclaimed book, *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America's Concentration Camps*, and recipient of the JACL's Nisei of the Biennium award in 1976 (see "Suggested Additional Readings").

Because of our selection criteria, the foregoing listing consists primarily of political and community activists and is quite incomplete even in these fields. Of course, many other notable individuals could have been cited in other fields such as the arts, literature, music, architecture, science,medicine, etc. However, the addition of such individuals to the listing hardly seems necessary in order to demonstrate that Japanese Americans have contributed proportionately as much to the advancement of American society and culture as has any other ethnic group.

Significant Current Trends

Perhaps the single, most important influence on Japanese Americans in recent years has been the emergence of a movement which has brought together various Asian-American groups, many of which formerly were often antagonists, in united efforts to achieve common goals. This movement had its origins in the student activism of the late 1960's when Chinese, Japanese, Korean and Pilipino* college students on several West Coast campuses organized themselves into Asian-American coalitions and joined with other Third World student groups to demand the establishment of ethnic studies programs, as well as to take collective action on various other social and political issues.

The movement quickly spread from the campuses to the communities as student activists exposed the fact — long concealed and denied — that many of the Asian-American communities, such as the Chinatowns and Little Tokyos, were deteriorating ghettoes plagued with grossly inadequate health care, overcrowded and substandard housing, chronic underemployment, and a multitude of other pressing social problems. As a result, there has been a reawakening of community concern and awareness, and many community organizations and agencies have been formed to address these problems.

Japanese Americans, particularly those on the mainland, have felt the impact of this movement in various ways. The movement inspired hundreds of Japanese Americans in 1968 to conduct an intensive three-year nationwide campaign that finally resulted in the repeal of the Emergency Detention Act of 1950, the so-called Concentration Camp Law, which had been used by the Nixon Administration to intimidate Vietnam War protestors, student activists and Black militants. It also influenced Japanese Americans to give unprecendented support to the Los Angeles County Coroner, Dr. Thomas Noguchi, whose firing in 1969 on trumped-up charges having racial overtones became a *cause celebre* in the Japanese-American community. More generally, it has led the mainland Japanese to take much more aggressive and direct action against discrimination and on other social issues.

*"Pilipino" is used here instead of "Filipino" because there is no "ph" or "f" sound indigenous to the Philippine language. "Pilipino" is, therefore, becoming the preferred spelling among many Philipinos.

On a broader scale, the movement has led to the creation of the Pacific/Asian Coalition (PAC)* — the first organization to bring together Americans of Pacific-Island and Asian ancestries from all parts of the U.S. for the purpose of advocacy at the national level in their behalf. Other Pacific/Asian coalitions, task forces and caucuses have formed within a wide variety of existing national organizations such as the National Education Association, the National Association of Social Workers and the National Council of Churches. In addition, special offices devoted to Pacific/Asian concerns have been established within several governmental agencies at both the state and Federal levels.

Thus, by forcing them to reexamine their status in American society and to question the validity of their "model minority" image, the Asian-American movement has created a profound change in the behavior of mainland Japanese. Many of them have undergone traumatic identity conflicts as they have self-consciously discovered the extent to which they had rejected their cultural identities in their efforts to acculturate into, and gain the acceptance of, white society. Indeed, recent studies by Asian American social scientists have revealed that many Japanese Americans suffer from severe neuroses characterized by excessive conformity, lack of confidence, self-contempt, and alienation. Currently, the mainland Japanese are seeking to redefine their identity and role in American society on their own terms and can be expected to take a far less accommodating approach in this quest than they did in the past.

Ironically enough, in recent years, as the mainland Japanese have become increasingly militant and identify more closely with the causes of the minority groups, the opposite trend appears to be occurring among the Japanese in Hawaii. In fact, due to their political dominance, the Japanese in Hawaii are now regarded by many of the other minority groups on the Islands as part of the ruling power structure — although in reality they serve in the classic role of "middleman minority," since most of the wealth and power are still concentrated in the hands of the white oligarchy. However, these attitudes appear to be changing as even the Islands begin to feel the impact of the Asian-American movement and as the political dominance of the Japanese becomes increasingly challenged by the *haoles* (whites), who now constitute the largest group on the Islands.

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*PAC is an outcome of the interest of the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) in the mental health of minorities. NIMH is funding both PAC and the Asian-American Research Center in Chicago.

Problems and Needs in Education

Until recently, to even suggest that serious problems may exist for Japanese Americans in education would have seemed to border on the absurd to many people, especially educators. Japanese-American students almost universally have been viewed as industrious, conscientious and well-behaved high achievers, whose educational attainments are widely acclaimed. Unfortunately, such a view is superficial at best and has contributed to widespread misconceptions that have impeded efforts to identify and meet the educational needs of Japanese Americans.

Although the Asian-American movement has recently stimulated the interest of many Sansei and Yonsei in Asian-American studies, most of them remain relatively ignorant of their cultural heritage and very few of them can speak Japanese. The identity conflicts of Japanese Americans previously mentioned may, in fact, be partly attributed to this deculturalization. The schools must accept a large share of the blame for creating these problems inasmuch as the curriculum in most schools still conveys the impression that the only people of consequence in this country have been white, Anglo-Saxon and Protestant. The experiences and contributions of Japanese Americans described in the preceding pages of this article are rarely, if ever, mentioned in the curriculum materials currently used in most schools; when information is presented, it usually is meager, superficial or condescending, and often perpetuates time-worn stereotypes. Major changes must be made in school curricula if they are to relate to the cultural backgrounds and experiential realities of Japanese Americans and other ethnic groups who make up our society.

However, in addition to changing the content of the curriculum, changes also are needed in the understanding of many teachers who instruct Japanese-American pupils. A most helpful reference in this connection is the special feature in *The Personnel and Guidance Journal* listed in "Suggested Additional Readings." For example, some teachers may stereotype Japanese-American students as "quiet, docile and hard-working." Consequently, they may rarely direct questions to these students or encourage them to engage in dialogue. In fact, some teachers may be quite content with the stereotypic behavior of Japanese-American students and are likely to over-react when they encounter one who breaks the stereotype by being verbal and assertive.

Such a student may be perceived by the teacher as disruptive or a disciplinary problem even though his/her behavior may be quite

typical of many of his/her non-Japanese peers. Rather than reinforcing stereotypic behavior patterns, teachers ought to encourage Japanese-American students to engage in dialogue by providing a supportive and non-threatening climate for classroom discussions. Only in this way can these students overcome their inability and reticence to express and assert themselves verbally, and develop the necessary language skills to function effectively in today's verbal society.

A problem that is undoubtedly closely related to the underdevelopment of their verbal skills is the serious deficiencies exhibited by Japanese Americans in their reading and English composition skills. One study at a major university having a high concentration of Japanese-American students has shown that their failure rate on the entrance examination (which tests for basic competence in these skills) was more than double that of other students.

Other studies of the performance of Japanese Americans on standard achievement tests also indicate that such deficiencies exist. Measures taken by teachers to remedy this problem must consist not only of placing more emphasis on the development of reading and writing skills, but also of incorporating teaching approaches and more relevant curriculum materials that will increase the motivation, pride, and self-concept of Japanese-American students.

One other problem that merits concern is the disproportionate number of Japanese Americans who pursue careers in the technical/scientific disciplines such as engineering, accounting, mathematics, and the physical sciences. A survey of majors at the University of California at Berkeley revealed that approximately 70 percent of the Japanese-American male students at that institution matriculated in these fields over a 20-year period. A similar trend appears to exist at other institutions.

While parental desires and fear of discrimination may be relevant factors, it seems clear that the schools play an influential, and perhaps pivotal, role in this trend. Because of the underdevelopment of their verbal/linguistic skills, Japanese Americans probably are attracted to these disciplines, which require minimal capabilities in self-expression and communication. They undoubtedly also are channeled in this direction by teachers and guidance counselors. Consequently, the schools should be able to help reverse the trend by helping Japanese-American students develop their verbal-linquistic skills and by fostering and developing a broader range of interests among them, particularly in such fields as the humanities, social sciences, and law and politics, in which many more Japanese Americans are needed.

Having discussed a few of the problems in education faced by Japanese Americans and possible approaches to solving them, a significant caveat must be stated: The unavoidable generalizations made in the preceding discussion should not be misused by teachers to replace an old stereotype with a new one. It must be remembered that the individual variations among Japanese Americans, as in other ethnic groups, span a wide range so that the teacher must maintain a sensible balance between a student's individual characteristics and his/her cultural characteristics. Only in this way will the teacher be able to help the student maximize his/her potential as a creative and self-directed human being in both our schools and our society.

SUGGESTED ADDITIONAL READINGS

Books

Daniels, Roger. *The Politics of Prejudice: The Anti-Japanese Movement in California and The Struggle for Japanese Exclusion*. Berkely: University of California Press (1962), 165 pp.

An excellent history and analysis of the role of politicians, labor and special interest groups in the anti-Japanese movement which culminated in the exclusion act of 1924.

Gee, Emma (ed.). *Counterpoint: Perspectives on Asian America*. Los Angeles: U.C.L.A. Asian American Studies Center (1976), 595 pp.

Selection of articles, short stories and poems which present contrasting perspectives that challenge conventional writings of the past 100 years on significant historical and contemporary topics pertaining to Asian-American and Pacific peoples.

Kitano, Harry H. L. *Japanese Americans: The Evolution of a Subculture*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall (1969), 186 pp.

Following a brief history of the Japanese in the U.S., a social-psychological view is provided of the role of traditional culture and the effects of such events as the wartime internment on the Japanese-American community, family and behavioral patterns.

Sue, Stanley and Wagner, Nathaniel N. (eds.). *Asian Americans: Psychological Perspectives*. Palo Alto, California: Science & Behavior Books, Inc. (1973), 298 pp.

A collection of 27 articles which examine various social and psychological dimensions of the Asian experience in contemporary American society.

Tachiki, Amy, *et al.* (eds.). *Roots: An Asian American Reader*. Los Angeles: U.C.L.A. Asian American Studies Center (1971), 345 pp.

An anthology of over 50 historical and contemporary writings which provide a basic introduction to the Asian experience in America.

Weglyn, Michi. *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America's Concentration Camps*. New York: William Morrow & Co. (1976). 351 pp.
Written by a Nisei who experienced incarceration, this is perhaps the most revealing, compassionate and hard-hitting account of the internment experience of Japanese Americans during World War II.

Magazines

"Asian-Americans: The Neglected Minority." Special feature in *The Personnel and Guidance Journal*. Vol. 51 (February 1973), pp. 385–415.
A number of insightful articles on the psychological and educational problems and needs of Asian-American students.

Special Double Issue on "Asian Americans in Children's Books." *Interracial Books for Children Bulletin*. Vol. 7, Nos. 2 & 3 (Council for Interracial Books for Children, Inc., 1841 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10023, 1976), pp. 1–34.
Contains articles which provide criteria for evaluating children's books on Asian Americans, critically reviews 67 children's books on Asian Americans, and presents alternative perspectives for viewing the Asian-American experience.

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THE JEWISH AMERICANS

By Nathan Glazer

American Jews may be thought of, alternatively, as a religious group and as an ethnic group. Normally, we do not think of a religious group as consisting of only one people. However, the Jewish religion is a very old one and comes down from a period long before the rise of Christianity or Islam when the distinction between "religion" and "people" was not made, and when, for example, Greeks, Persians, Romans and other peoples worshipped distinctive Gods.

Origins

The Jewish people originally settled in Palestine. When Palestine came under Roman rule (in the first century before Christ) Jews began to disperse throughout the Roman Empire particularly after the failure of their fiercely fought rebellions against Rome in the first and second centuries of the Common Era.

During the Middle Ages, the major Jewish communities were those of the Muslim world — Spain, in particular — as well as France, Germany, and the Rhineland. The Spanish Jews became known as "Sephardim"; the French, Rhineland and German Jews as "Ashkenazim." Both adhered to the same religious law. Both prayed in Hebrew and wrote their religious and secular works in Hebrew.

However, the popular language of the Sephardim, Ladino, was a variant of Spanish, mixed with a great deal of Hebrew, and written in Hebrew characters; the popular language of the Ashkenazim, Yiddish, was a variant of German, again mixed with a great deal of Hebrew and written in Hebrew characters.

After the dispersion from Palestine, the Jews of the Mediterranean and European worlds, almost uniquely among the people of the Middle Ages, were not primarily farmers. In the feudal Christian

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countries of the medieval world there was no easy way for a Jew to become a landowner or a farmer — they were considered "strangers." As a matter of fact, in many countries Jews were not permitted to own land.

Thus Jews became merchants, artisans, and urban people in what was still an agricultural world. They emphasized the virtue of learning the sacred scriptures in Hebrew. As a result, many were literate and devoted themselves to studies in religion, philosophy, and medicine. Accordingly, in the Middle Ages many doctors were Jews.

Despite the fact that Christianity began as a version of Judaism, early Christians soon broke with any Jewish connection (though they continued to consider the Hebrew Bible — called by Christians the "Old Testament" — part of their own holy books) and became very hostile to Jews and Judaism. Jews were banned from many countries of medieval Europe. Often they were massacred, as during the first crusade, or were confined in ghettoes and lived in almost constant danger of loss of property and life.

Many were subjected to forced conversion, as in Spain, where in 1492, after the final victory by Spanish Christians over the Muslim rulers, Jews were required either to convert or were forced to emigrate to whatever country would have them. Portuguese Jews suffered the same fate. This hostility to Jews stemmed from the fact that religion was the basis of social organization, and Jews, whether in Christian or Muslim lands, were "outsiders." Christians were equally hostile to Muslims.

In the United States

The first Jewish settlers in the United States were descendants of Portuguese Jews (Sephardim) who had been forced to leave their homeland and eventually had settled in one of the few religiously tolerant countries of Europe at that time, the Netherlands. From the Netherlands a few had gone to settle in Brazil during a brief period (1630–1654) when Brazil was under Dutch rule. When Brazil was reconquered by the Portuguese, the Jews were forced to flee again, and a few finally landed in what is now New York (and was then New Amsterdam, still under Dutch rule in 1654). Thus was founded the first Jewish community in what is now the United States.

Gradually, other Jews settled in other towns in the English colonies — Newport, Philadelphia, Charleston — and by the time of the revolution there were a half-dozen Jewish communities in the United

States, generally consisting of merchants. During the American Revolution, Jews were active in support of the war, and one, Haym Solomon, in particular became known for his important work in helping to finance the revolutionary struggle. Jews found the new United States almost the only country in which they could live in freedom and without restriction, and could practice their religion without penalty. In the new American constitution religion and state were separated, and no religious test for citizenship, for election to office, or for government employment and appointment, could be imposed.

Patterns of Immigration

In the 1830's, there began substantial emigration to the United States from the various German-speaking lands of central Europe (this was before the formation of a unified Germany), where Jews still lived under medieval restrictions. Thus to the American "Sephardim" of the earlier period of the 17th and 18th centureis were added great numbers of "Ashkenazim." By 1880, there were about 250,000 Jews in the United States, established in many communities, and mostly engaged in trade, small and large.

After 1880, just as immigration in general to this country shifted from Western, Northern, and Central Europe to Eastern and Southern Europe, so, too, it did for Jews. Many hundreds of thousands of Jews came to this country as immigrants from the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Russian Empire, and Rumania. In the latter two countries, Jews were subject to particularly fierce official persecution, and left so that they could live as Jews without suffering economic, political, and religious perseuction. By the mid-1920's, when mass immigration from Europe came to an end, owing to the passage of stringent immigration laws, there were four million Jews in this country, and they constituted about four percent of the population.

While there were small waves of immigration of Jews after the 1920's — those who escaped from Hitler's Germany in the 1930's, and those who survived the Nazi effort to kill the Jews of Europe and came here in the later 1940's and early 1950's — the population growth of American Jewry in this period was primarily through natural reproduction. In recent decades, however, there has been very little growth at all, since Jewish families are extremely small. Thus Jews now form less than three percent of the American population, and their average age is higher than that of other American ethnic groups.

Almost all Jewish immigration to this country has been of Jews

escaping from persecution. For this reason, Jews, more than other immigrants, came with the intention of staying, and with the intention of becoming American citizens as rapidly as possible. They became active in American political life quite early and many became successful economically.

For example, early German-Jewish immigrants went into trade primarily, but many as very small traders indeed, in fact as peddlers. However, some became quite successful and such names as Bloomingdale's, Gimbel's, Abraham and Strauss, and Bamberger's among department stores reflect their success in retail trade. ("Levis" are named after Levi Strauss, who first produced the popular denim trousers for miners in Gold Rush California.)

On the other hand, later-arriving East European Jews were primarily workers. While they had been artisans and small businessmen in Europe, in this country the only work available for them was generally in the clothing trades or in the building trades. However, substantial numbers did go into business, and became successful in a variety of fields: clothing, real estate, construction, scrap metal, automobile parts, and mass entertainment such as the movies, theater, and television.

Some Accomplishments

Perhaps the most marked success of Jews has been in education. As is true of some other groups (for example, Japanese Americans), Jews eagerly took up opportunities for education. Since half of the East European Jewish immigrants in this country settled in New York City, they had the opportunity to attend that city's tuition-free* institutions of higher education (the College of the City of New York, Hunter College, Brooklyn College, and others later), and for decades the student bodies of these institutions were predominantly Jewish.

As a result of the high proportion of Jews going on to higher education, many Jews entered professions such as law, medicine, and accounting. Others became scholars in various fields, and Jews are strongly represented among professors in American colleges and universities, and some have achieved great distinction. Many of the American Nobel Prize winners in the sciences and medicine are Jews.

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*This policy was changed in 1976. Newer population groups in New York City recognized that the change was dictated by the city's financial problems, but they called attention to the fact that the change came when large numbers of non-whites began at last to be enrolled.

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A number of distinguished legal scholars and lawyers became judges, and perhaps Jews are proudest of those who became distinguished Supreme Court Justices such as Louis D. Brandeis, Benjamin Cardozo, and Felix Frankfurter.

Jews also have achieved high office politically, among them Herbert Lehman, who was Governor of New York State, first director of UNRRA (the post-World War II United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency), and Senator from New York; Jacob Javits, who has served for many years as Senator from New York; Abraham Ribicoff, who has been Governor of Connecticut, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and Senator from Connecticut; Arthur Goldberg, who has been Secretary of Labor, Supreme Court Justice, and Ambassador to the United Nations.

American Jews have been active in all spheres of American culture: as writers (Saul Bellow, Bernard Malamud, Philip Roth, Lionel Trilling); painters and sculptors (Ben Shahn, Mark Rothko, Louise Nevelson); composers (Aaron Copland), and in particular as composers and lyricists of popular music (George Gershwin, Irving Berlin, Rodgers and Hart, Kurt Weill).

Varieties of Religious Groups

This success in American life has been paralleled by many changes among Jews. Not many Jews now speak Yiddish, for example; the great majority of American Jews have been raised speaking English.

Jewish religion has undergone substantial change in this country. German Jews in the 19th century changed Jewish prayers and services to make them more like those of American Protestantism, and substituted English for much of the Hebrew in Jewish religious services.

Indeed, such substantial changes took place that a new denomination, "Reform Judaism," first established in Germany, spread in American Jewish communities. Other Jews engaged in more modest modifications and established a second denomination which is called "Conservative." Many Jews — among them, the most religious groups from Eastern Europe — remained faithful to Jewish religious practices that have been unchanged since the middle Ages, and these are called "Orthodox." The most Orthodox Jews are the Hasidim, who form a number of sects and try to preserve traditional customs.

While all of these groups are Jews, they disagree about many points, and their rabbis (Jewish religious leaders) are trained in differ-

ent seminaries (Hebrew Union College for the Reform, the Jewish Theological Seminary for the Conservative, and Yeshiva University and other institutions for the Orthodox). Individual congregations belong to different nationwide *religious organizations*. There is no hierarchy in the Jewish religion — no Pope or Chief Rabbi, no system by which some rabbis are formally raised over others. Each congregation is independent, though most are members of a congregational organization which reflects their point of view.

Other Community Organizations

Along with the institutions of Jewish religion in this country may be found many other Jewish organizations. Thus, in each community one may find, in addition to Reform, Conservative and Orthodox temples and synagogues (generally with associated religious schools), Jewish hospitals, old age homes, community centers, social service organizations, Jewish schools, and other cultural facilities. In addition, in each community there is generally a central fund-raising body which raises money for all these institutions.

Important as the focus of many of these fund-raising organizations are the needs of Jews in the state of Israel. American Jews have contributed heavily to help refugees from Europe and Arab countries in the Middle East settle there, and continue to contribute to the maintenance of social and welfare institutions in Israel.

Fighting Discrimination and Prejudice

Among Jewish organizations are also to be found some whose major aim is to fight anti-Semitism in this country and abroad, and to protect the rights of Jews. The chief organizations which carry on these tasks are the American Jewish Committee, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, and the American Jewish Congress. Just as there is no central leadership in American Jewish religion, there is no central leadership in the defense of Jewish rights — each organization is independent and acts as it sees fit. These groups protect the civil rights of Jews, just as the NAACP protects the civil rights of Blacks, and operate by way of research, discussion, and legal action.

Organized anti-Semitism is not considered a major problem of Jews in this country today. In the past, however, despite the political freedom granted to Jews, as to all religions, anti-Semitism has been a problem. Thus, in the late 19th century, as some Jews began to become wealthy and prominent, social clubs closed their doors to them — as

they still do, in large part, to Blacks. Some American social clubs still exclude American Jews.

In the field of education, some private schools practice discrimination against qualified Jewish children. In the 1920's, as greater numbers of Jews began to attend Ivy League colleges, these began to discriminate by instituting Jewish quotas to hold down the number of Jewish students. At the same time, medical schools began to discriminate against Jews, many of whom wanted to become doctors.

In the 1920's, 1930's, and 1940's discrimination against Jews was endemic in many occupations — among major corporations of almost any kind, in which Jews could not get jobs as executives; in colleges and universities, where Jews could not get jobs as teachers. This discrimination began to weaken after World War II, as our society became more liberal and tolerant. This movement to tolerance was aided by the passage of laws forbidding discrimination in employment, education, and housing.

Jews were among the most active leaders in the movement for such laws, and it was in states where Jews were numerous, such as New York, where such laws were passed first and became most effective. In this work, Jews were closely associated with Black and other civil rights leaders. Ultimately, this movement triumphed nationally in the Civil Rights Acts of 1964, 1965, and 1968, banning discrimination in public facilities, employment, government programs, voting, and housing. By the 1960's, discrimination against Jews was quite reduced.

Whereas Jews were closely allied with Blacks in the fight for civil rights legislation, recent developments have created some tension and conflicts between Jews and Blacks. The emphasis by government on affirmative action in employment (the active effort, required by government, to hire larger numbers of certain minorities) and the rise of favored treatment for certain minorities in admission to medical schools and other competitive professional programs, has divided Jews. Having themselves been victims of quotas which limited them in the past, they are allergic to any policy which looks like a quota. They question in particular the goals required by affirmative action for Blacks and some other minorities in employment and the goals or quotas instituted by medical and other schools in order to enroll a certain number of minority students. Jews disagree on whether these policies are right or just, and Jewish organizations often are split on these difficult issues.

While to some minorities, Jews may appear to be part of the "majority" (because they generally are white or light-skinned, and

because many have achieved higher education, moved into good occupations, and earn good incomes). Jews themselves are very much aware of their minority status and the dangers that may face them. Hitler's effort to kill all Jews ended only with his loss of World War II in 1945, and he did succeed in killing most of the Jews of Europe, six million. Almost every American Jew has relatives who died in the holocaust; hundreds of thousands only barely escaped themselves. The permanent danger in which the small state of Israel lives also is something that reminds Jews of their minority status and the dangers they may face — even in America.

The Jewish Child in School

Jews, as is true of any other group, are extremely diverse. While they have a reputation for being good and eager students, this is of course not always the case. On the whole, there is little in American school practice that the Jewish student finds difficult to manage. Jewish students may be out of school for religious holidays (the number of holidays depends on how Orthodox they are in observance). They will probably not be happy if there is much emphasis on Christmas, and the more the specifically Christian and religious aspect of Christmas is emphasized, the less happy they will be.

Generally, their parents strongly urge them to do well in school and provide much support. The children generally are highly motivated academically — almost all Jewish children expect to go to college. Parents usually will be very willing to cooperate with teachers and to respond to requests to confer with teachers. In the past, Jewish children often were ashamed of their heritage, as was true of so many immigrant children. However, as Jewish children are increasingly of the third generation, this is less true today, and indeed many are quite proud of their heritage.

Relationships with Israel

The relationship of American Jews to Israel sometimes creates difficulties and misunderstandings with their fellow Americans. Every immigrant group has maintained close ties of friendship and concern with its homeland, and in this respect Jews are no different from other immigrant and ethnic groups. But it is also true that Israel is not an ordinary homeland. It was created by Jewish refugees from other countries, before and after World War II.

Before Israel was founded in 1948, hundreds of thousands of

Jews had settled in Palestine as refugees from Russia, Poland, and Germany, under the auspices of the Zionist movement, whose aim was to establish a national Jewish homeland. In 1948, the state of Israel was established. Great numbers of Jews who had survived Hitler's holocaust, and others who faced persecution in Arab countries, fled to Israel. Nor has immigration to Israel ceased. In recent years, tens of thousands of Russian Jews have been permitted to leave that country to settle in Israel, but they are generally destitute and need considerable aid before they can become self-supporting.

For a variety of reasons, most American Jews have an intense interest in Israel. Few American Jews come from Israel but many of them have relatives and friends who may have settled there. Secondly, Israel is undoubtedly the most endangered country in the world. It is a small state surrounded by numerous and hostile neighbors who have never recognized its existence. Finally, Israel plays a central role in the Jewish religion. It is thus understandable that Israel should play a central role in the consciousness of American Jews. They raise great sums of money for Israel's needs and support the policies necessary for its defense on the American political scene.

The United States is closely tied to Israel: because Israel is a democracy; because we were instrumental in its birth; and because American Jews are passionately concerned that it should survive and prosper. But tensions may arise in the relations of any two states, no matter how closely allied, and in these circumstances American Jews often are placed in the difficult position of deciding whether they should support the views of the Israeli government or of their own government.

For example, Henry Kissinger, a Jewish refugee from Nazi Germany, was American Secretary of State for a number of years. As such, he represented the interests of the American Government in trying to move toward a stable peace in the Middle East. He negotiated with heads of all governments — even those, such as Saudi Arabia, that are strongly anti-Jewish, as well as anti-Israel. His position was unique, but in different degrees other American Jews face similar dilemmas because of the extreme danger in which Israel lives, in which any misstep may lead to its destruction, and because of the importance of the United States in contributing to its defense.

A true peace in the Middle East would reduce anxiety among Jews in America as well as resolve economic and social problems in the Eastern Mediterranean, but it has not been achieved during the first three decades of Israel's existence, and it may not be achieved for many years to come.

Problems of "Survival"

American Jews often talk about "Survival." They mean many things by that term. They mean the simple brute physical survival of Israel as a Jewish state, and of its people, who are permanently threatened. They also mean the survival of Jews as Jews in the United States, where the threats to survival take a very different form.

For instance, Jews now have very small families: they already have achieved zero population growth. They were once almost four percent of the American people; they are now less than three percent; and, owing to their low rate of reproduction, they will be still less. Their political influence will then be smaller, as will be their power to defend specific Jewish interests, such as the defense of Israel.

Jews also are concerned that their decline in numbers may become even more rapid because of intermarriage. Almost all American Jewish young people go to college, where they meet non-Jews, and many marry them. Will their children be raised as Jews or not? Jewish schools already are often in difficulty because there are so few Jewish children. Will not intermarriage reduce their numbers further?

Jews are less worried about another ground for population loss; religious conversion to Christianity. This was quite common in the earlier years of Jewish history in this country, when the Jewish minority was tiny, and the attraction of the majority religion was greater. But conversion is still an issue among Jews, and in recent years certain prominent political personalities have reminded them of the losses to the Jewish faith through conversion: for example, Senator Barry Goldwater came from a Jewish family that had been converted to Christianity some generations back. Other leading personalities in American life of Jewish birth, such as James Schlesinger and Michael Blumenthal, have converted to Christianity in their own lifetime.

Finally, survival refers not only to simple physical continuity, but also to how one survives, to the quality of American Jewish life. There are many concerns in this respect, too. When Jews were concentrated in the large cities, principally New York, they could support many institutions of all types, and it was easy for Jews to participate in religious, cultural, political, and educational activities.

This becomes more difficult as Jews are suburbanized, along with other middle-class Americans, and no longer live in dense concentrations. The Jewish population of the great cities has dropped considerably, and many large cities are almost without Jews, as most have moved to suburbs. While they can maintain their synagogues

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and temples, they cannot retrain the variety of institutions they once had when their numbers were greater.

In addition, it was the immigrants themselves who knew and experienced the most intense Jewish lives in Eastern Europe. Their children are removed from that life, and know little Yiddish and less Hebrew. Their children's children — and American Jews are by now predominantly third generation — know even less about traditional Jewish life. They are still Jews, attend synagogues — at least on the holiest days — and contribute to Jewish organizations and causes. But as their spiritual roots become more and more distant, there is great concern among Jews as to how the spiritual quality of Jewish life can be maintained.

Jewish Traditions and Customs

Jewish life traditionally has been rich in observances, festivals, holidays, and customs. One observance involves the dietary laws which prescribe foods that may or may not be eaten and the manner in which animals are to be slaughtered if they are to be considered *Kosher*, that is, fit to be eaten by observant Jews. Many Jews maintain these observances; a growing number have departed from these ways.

Jewish tradition prescribes a number of religious holidays. There is considerable variation among Jews in America as to the observance of holidays. Some are regarded as more important than others: *Passover*, which celebrates the Jewish exodus from ancient Egypt, where they were enslaved, and during which *matzos* (the unleavened bread they prepared for the journey into the desert of Sinai) are eaten; *Chanukah*, which celebrates the deliverance of the ancient Temple in Jerusalem from the Greek-Syrian rulers of Palestine by the heroic Maccabees; *Rosh Hashana* and *Yom Kippur*, the Jewish New Year, and the following Day of Atonement. Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur are days for solemn prayer and personal penitence, and their observance is quite different from the joyous celebration of the secular New Year. *Succoth* (Feast of Tabernacles, a harvest festival) and *Shevuoth* (celebrating the giving of the Laws on Mount Sinai) are holidays on which the ancient Israelites would make pilgrimages, as they would on Passover, to the Temple in Jerusalem.

Jewish children generally will not attend school on Rosh Hashana, Yom Kippur, Succoth, Passover, and Shevuoth. However, there is variation among Jewish families as to which holidays require absence from schools.

A marked tradition among Jews is "tsedakah" or the giving of

charity. This extends from small contributions of pennies in a charity box kept in the home to the endowment of hospitals, universities, and cultural institutions. In most cities there is a federation of charitable and cultural institutions for which an annual fund drive is made through the United Jewish Appeal. In addition, the Jewish tradition of philanthropy is exemplified in generous support by individuals to universities, hospitals, museums, cultural centers, neighborhood houses, and social causes sponsored by secular groups and by non-Jewish religious communities. The "Jewish Hospital" in many cities serves populations that are not Jewish but in need of help.

Of course, Jews do not agree on just what the specific spiritual content of American Jewish life should be. Some emphasize adherence to the old faith and its practices; some emphasize the pursuit of social justice, a theme first raised by the Jewish prophets; some believe that any form of liberal or progressive thought is Jewish, and a good Jew must be liberal or progressive. (Indeed, Jews overwhelmingly are left of center in their political views — most Jews in public life are Democrats, and indeed liberal Democrats.)

Spiritual Revival

In recent years, we have seen among young Jews — as among the young in other ethnic groups — new and serious efforts to revive Jewish spiritual life, even among those born in this country and with no direct knowledge of the intense Jewish life of the past. Young people have founded magazines, have established communities for Jewish living, and have begun to expand their interest in Jewish education. One sign of this is the increasing number of Jewish studies programs in our colleges.

In this attempt to strengthen Jewish life, Israel plays a unique role. Hebrew, the language of the Bible, is its daily speech; Jewish scholarship flourishes more actively there than anywhere else; it is by intention a Jewish state; and it offers a unique experience in kinds of Jewish living to young Jews. Israel becomes the curriculum of the Jewish education that most young Jews get.

As against many other ethnic groups, Jews, defined by religion as well as by peoplehood, and linked to Israel through ties of spiritual and actual kinship, are not in much danger of losing their identity in American life. However, as they become more remote in time from the dense and whole Jewish life that their forefathers knew, they wonder what the content of that identity will be.

SUGGESTED ADDITIONAL READINGS

Glazer, Nathan. *American Judaism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957, 1972.

A brief account of the development of the Jewish religion in America, presented in the context of Jewish social and economic development.

Howe, Irving. *The World of Our Fathers*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976.

This is a detailed study of the life of the Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe who settled on the lower east side of New York City. That community (and others like it) is the kind of place where the forefathers of most of today's American Jews first lived on arriving in this country. Rich and detailed, this study explains why American Jewish culture is the way it is.

Sklare, Marshall. *America's Jews*. New York: Random House 1971.

An informed study of the contemporary American Jewish community.

Sklare, Marshall. *The Jew in American Society* and *The Jewish Community in America*. New York: Behrman House, 1974.

These two books are collections of important studies of American Jews dealing with their history, politics, economic role, community, and religion.

THE MEXICAN AMERICANS

By Arthur Tenorio

As they view themselves in the present, Mexican Americans are a diversified ethnic group. For example, some see their ancestors coming to this continent from Spain with Cortez in 1519. Some see themselves as descendents of the Aztec Indian tribes which founded what is now Mexico City in 1325. Others see themselves as descendants of the of the *mestizos*, a mixture of Spaniards and Indians who founded much of what is now the American Southwest. Some, of course, see themselves simply as Americans.

Another indication of their present-day diversity is the variety of ethnic designations they now give themselves: Mexicans, Americans, Hispanos, Mexican Americans, Latin Americans, Spanish Americans, Chicanos.

The Mexican-American ethnic group is a hetereogeneous one because of the pattern of the absorption of the native Indians by the Spanish conquerors and the resultant amalgamation. This racial fusion, resulting in the mestizo, persists today both in Mexico and in Mexican-American colonies north of Mexico.

The same ethnic and color criteria which were used in colonial times to define superiority-inferiority, superordinate-subordinate relationships have continued into modern times. In essence, fairness of skin identifies Spanish characteristics and involves an assumption of higher social standing. Because of the prejudice which they found in the United States toward people of darker complexions, some Mexican Americans decided to call themselves *Spanish-American*. They discovered that they would be treated more fairly if they used this label. Lighter-colored individuals in this group have been given greater economic opportunities and have been accepted more e ily on a social level.

However, visibility of skin color proves to be only one element in the racism which is experienced by Mexican Americans. The audibil-

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ity of language differences and the distinctiveness of cultural practices also mark them as "targets" for subordination or exclusion by members of the white majority.

The term *Mexican American* was used in Texas, Arizona, and California and was applied to both the older and the newer Mexican groups. It supersedes the less accurate designation of "Latin American" which was previously used in this area. Some people in this group reject the designation "Spanish-American" in order to show their New World origins.

Chicano is a term with various connotations. In some areas, it is simply a self-ascribed, in-group term with no negative overtones. In other areas, the term was first applied to High Sierra Mexicans who were considered to be "low" on the social scale. It also was used for a long time at the gang level for ethnic identification in intra-ethnic fights or competition. In the 1960's, militant Mexican-American groups chose this name for themselves, but it is still resented by some older people.

In this brief article, it will not be possible to give the full history of the varied seven million men, women, and children whom we are describing here under the heading of "Mexican Americans." Suffice it to say that this group name represents the many varieties of pride and pain which have been, and are being, experienced by other ethnic groups included in this volume as well as some varieties which are unique to Mexican Americans.

It is important that Mexican Americans know the realities of their past. It is equally important that members of other ethnic groups in America also know and understand these realities so that all of us can learn, work, and live together in the present and in the future.

How else can one deal with the fact that nowadays in Texas, California, and New Mexico there are Mexican Americans whose ancestors were there before the Anglo-Americans who moved westward in the 19th century — and with the fact that in many cases those ancestors were dispossessed from their lands by the then- and still-dominant American ethnic group?

How else can one deal with the painful fact that when farm owners in our Southwest have needed workers, Mexicans have been allowed to cross our border freely — and that, when times have been hard and jobs were scarce, these workers have been deported indiscriminately, including many who had become American citizens?

How else can one deal with the cruel fact that, while many draft-age Mexican Americans were being decorated for heroism and bravery in World War II, their younger brothers and friends were

being beaten up by American sailors in Los Angeles in what became known as the "Zoot Suit Riots" of 1943?

Developing understanding of past ethnic events such as the foregoing,* and developing ways of avoiding their recurrence in the future, comprise the special task of multicultural education. In addition, this teaching job may have to be approached differently in relation to Mexican Americans who now live in our Southwest in San Antonio, Texas; San Diego, California; and Santa Fe, New Mexico; — and to those who live in other cities such as Chicago, Illinois; Detroit, Michigan; and Gary Indiana.

Brief Historic Background

Unfortunately, events such as those cited in the previous section have affected the feelings and attitudes of Americans, Mexicans and Mexican Americans. Most of these feelings have been negative and not conducive to improving inter-ethnic relations. Some further highlights of Mexican and Mexican-American history will indicate the kinds of problems that must be dealt with if the goals of multicultural education are to be achieved.

Much of the area in America's Southwest now included in the states of Texas, California, New Mexico, Nevada, Arizona and Colorado once was part of the Hispanic domain which originally was based in Mexico. The very names of some of these states, and of many of the cities within them, reflect the historic Spanish and Mexican influence: Amarillo, Atascadero, Alamagordo, Los Alamos, Pueblo, San Francisoco, Los Angeles, Sacramento, etc.

The start of the breakdown of Spanish and Mexican control of this area may be dated from 1810 when Mexicans began their revolution against Spanish rule. By 1824, when Mexico finally achieved its independence and established itself as a republic, Anglo-Americans had moved westward in considerable numbers into what was then part of Mexico. The "Manifest Destiny" concept had gripped the citizens of a growing United States which led political leaders to express a quasi-religious fath that Destiny ordained expansion all the way to the Pacific Ocean. By 1830, for example, Anglos outnumbered Mexicans in Texas by six to one. By 1836, Texas had so many Anglos that it led to its break from Mexico to declare itself a separate republic.

An historic battle in Texas' war for independence took place at the Alamo, in present-day San Antonio. Founded in about 1720 as a Franciscan mission, the Alamo was turned into a fort by Texans of

*See "Suggested Additional Readings" at the end of this article.

both Anglo-American and Spanish-Mexican origin (the latter were known as *Tejanos*). Several hundred of these new Texans gave up their lives in an unsuccessful effort to defend the fort against 4,000 Mexicans led by their President Santa Anna. Six weeks later, however, at San Jacinto, Texan troops under Sam Houston defeated Santa Anna's army and paved the way to independence.

Many *Tejanos* supported the new republic of Texas. Three of them signed the Texas Declaration of Independence and one of them became the first vice-president of Texas. In 1845, Texas became part of the United States.

In 1846, the United States launched an expansionist war against Mexico from which it emerged victorious two years later. Mexicans north of the new border now became Mexican Americans. They were given assurances of fair treatment (particularly in regard to their landholdings) which were written into the peace treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 which ended the war. Unfortunately, however, Mexican Americans entered on a period in which they felt that they were treated as second-class citizens of the United States. In many areas, this feeling continues into the present.

It also should be pointed out that the 75,000–100,000 Mexicans in our Southwest who chose to become citizens of the United States in 1848 also brought with them vestiges of the system of social stratification that had been imposed upon them by Spanish rule of over 300 years. Becoming part of the United States did not change this status system. In this hierarchy, the original rulers who had been born in Spain were known as *peninsulares*. They were replaced after the Mexican revolution (1810–1824) by the *criollos* (Mexicans born of Spanish parents). Among the *criollos*, were the large landowners in what is now the American Southwest. Their daughters were sought in marriage by land-hungry Anglo-Americans who moved westward.

In the 19th century, most Mexican Americans were *mestizos* (children of Spanish and Indian parents). Below them in social and economic standing were the Indians, known as *indios* and *indigenos*. Uneducated members of both groups became laborers, soldiers, artisans, and cowboys in the American Southwest.

In the 20th century, the first important influx of Mexicans into the United States occurred between 1910 and 1922, a period of further revolution in Mexico. Included among the immigrants were upper-class Mexicans who came as political refugees as well as impoverished farm workers who hoped to improve their economic lot. The latter were welcomed into the expanding agricultural industry of the Southwest especially in the period of World War I, when immigra-

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tion from Europe and the Orient were curtailed. The cattle industry was largely a product of Mexican Americans who contributed skills and even vocabulary to this important part of our economy. (See the section of this article headed "Mexican Americans Today.") Mexican-American labor also contributed significantly to the development of our mines and railroads.

With the advent of the American economic depression, beginning in 1929, Mexican workers were no longer needed and various government agencies proceeded to deport them, including many who had been born in the United States. By 1942, the United States again needed agricultural labor and with the Mexican government it established the "bracero program" which imported temporary workers for American farms. In 1951, the policy was reiterated in this country as Public Law 78. Obviously, the program met a real need on the part of farmers for cheap labor. From 1950 to 1960, for example, 3,485,786 *braceros* came to the United States.

In this same decade, the number of Mexicans who entered this country as legal immigrants was 293,469. Interestingly, during the ten-year period, 4,078,655 Mexicans who apparently had come here without documentation (i.e. without permission to immigrate) were deported to Mexico.

Many of these "illegals" were men who had come to work on farms in the United States, but who were reported to the United States Border Patrol by their employers who used the labor of the Mexicans, and, instead of paying them, had them deported.

Deportation searches reached as far north in the United States as Spokane, Washington — and often resulted in illegal expulsion of Mexican Americans. Sometimes these deportation efforts were known as "Operation Wetback" because theoretically the Mexicans involved had waded across the Rio Grande River. In fact, most of them crossed the border on land.

Clearly, the history of Mexican-American immigration and expulsion, legal and otherwise, is not one of the happier chapters of relations between these neighboring nations. Setting straight the record of discrimination and exploitation must be one of our tasks in multicultural education.

At this time, what really is at stake is the well-being of about seven million Americans of Mexican descent. (It is estimated that about one-third of their number had ancestors living in in our Southwest at the end of the Mexican-American War in 1848.) They rank as our second-largest minority group, exceeded in number only by Black Americans.

What has shaped these Mexican Americans? What heritage do they share? What contributions have they made to the United States? What can other Americans learn from them?

These are some of the questions we shall attempt to answer in the remainder of this article.

The Land Grant System and Its Legacy

As has been indicated, there is no one pattern to which all Mexican Americans conform. Later in this article we shall indicate some criteria which help characterize their differences. At this point, however, we should like to dwell in some detail on an aspect of the experience of Mexican Americans in the state of New Mexico which has symbolic significance for members of this ethnic group in other parts of the United States as well.

Until 1940, Mexican Americans constituted the largest ethnic group in New Mexico. Throughout their history, and into the present, they have recalled that when the American army occupied their territory in 1847, Mexican Americans owned over 33,000,000 acres under the Spanish and Mexican land grant system which was based on a pattern of chartered settlements.

This settlement pattern for the innumerable Hispanic villages which once existed in the American Southwest can be traced back to the pattern of Roman times when lands were allocated to deserving veterans of the Roman legions. This pattern is commonly referred to as the Land Grant System.

Basically, there were two types of land grants. The first type included those that were allocated to individuals for outstanding service to the Spanish Crown and later to the Mexican Government. In times of stress or war, a grantee was expected to provide armed soldiers and cavalrymen for the grantor's cause. Under a second type, land grants were allocated to communities for the specific purpose of establishing settlements and for providing sustenance for the grantees.

Both types of grants involved a charter which at one time was granted by the Spanish viceroy in Mexico City. The transaction was reported to the Council of the Indies in Spain and, through this agency, to the King of Spain.

Within the charter there is a description of the land to be settled and a listing of the residents by family name, including their total number. The grantees were obligated to set up a central area designated as the Plaza, and within this area to build a church and a school.

Other joint community ventures included the building of a community well and an irrigation system.

Each family unit also was allocated a private piece of land, usually irrigated, for its own sustenance. The remainder of the land was held in trust by an elected grant council which decided grazing, lumbering, and mineral rights, and regulated all other enterprises as well.

This settlement system provided for both individual and community inititative. Cooperation was not only essential but was taken for granted. If an individual was enterprising, the Grant Council authorized further development of the land with the provision that specified portions of the profits would go into the grants coffers. In addition, should a group of people desire to move to other parts of the grant, this too could be arranged through the Land Grant Council.

In 1847, there existed in New Mexico groups referred to as the *ricos* (the rich) and those known as *pobres* (the poor). However, class lines never were solidified inasmuch as many of the rich had large numbers of relatives among the poor. In New Mexico, it is felt that everyone is related in one way or another and that kinship is a value in itself.

Pressure and competition from Anglo-Americans served to keep the Mexican-American ethnic group fairly well united. Of course, after the Anglo arrival, many Hispanic families became culturally Anglicized. Some families in New Mexico today have Spanish names but in actuality include only a very small percentage of the Hispanic blood line.

Up to 1940, as has been noted, the Hispanic population in New Mexico was in the majority, a fact which allowed for much political participation in local and state government. During World War II, several military bases were established in the state, including the Atomic Center in Los Alamos.

By the time of the 1950 census, the Hispanic element became a minority. Currently, it is estimated that members of this group constitute 38 percent of the total state population, although there are several counties in which they still form a majority. Among present-day school children in New Mexico, 43 percent are Mexican Americans.

Concern with injustice in land grants in the 1960's led to the organization, under the leadership of a former preacher, Reies Lopez Tijerina, of the *Alianza Federal de Mercedes* (Federal Alliance of Land Grants). Its goal is to win back land in the northern and central parts of New Mexico which the group feels was illegally taken from their ancestors by the United States government after the Mexican-

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American War. Part of the Mexican Americans' difficulty was aggravated by their language handicaps. Another cause was frequent moral if not legal injustice on the part of American courts and lawyers.

In October 1966, the *Alianza* attempted to take over the Kit Carson Forest in New Mexico, proclaiming the establishment of an independent republic. Some months later, Tijerina and forty of his followers stormed the courthouse in Tierra Amarilla and freed *Alianza* members who were being held prisoner.

Both of these efforts highlighted the injustices of land expropriation which Mexican Americans have suffered in the American Southwest. With the precedents being established elsewhere in the United States by American Indian tribes which are attempting to regain lands unjustly taken from them (or to obtain appropriate compensation), perhaps similar restitution can be achieved by Mexican Americans.

The Role of the Mexican-American Family

Closely allied to the tradition of land grants among Mexican Americans is the role of the family. Many social scientists feel that other ethnic groups in this country have much to learn in this area from Mexican Americans. Certainly teachers must be aware of the place of family ties and attitudes in the behavior of Mexican American students.

As in other ethnic groups, Mexican Americans exhibit a wide variety of family patterns. In many ways they are similar to other poor, rural families that suffer from racial and ethnic prejudice. There are certain features of Mexican-American family life that stand out, and we shall describe some of them, but to attribute these elements to all Mexican-Americans would be a serious error of stereotyping.

The traditional Mexican-American family is structured, with the father as the patriarch. Every member of the family has a specific status and a function. Family relationships are closely knit and much attention and warmth are extended to the children. An elaborate code of ethics and respect is in operation at all times. The older children not only pamper their younger brothers and sisters, but also are ready to defend them if such a need should arise. Thus, the children feel secure and loved.

Not only does the Mexican-American family include close relations with blood relations — uncles, aunts, cousins, grandparents, etc. — but it is extended by the *compadrazo* system to establish close and loyal bonds with people whom the parents admire and trust. These people, usually married couples, are invited by the parents to

witness the baptism of their child. The couples thus become *compadres* of the parents and *padrinos* (Godparents) of the child.

This bond between a child and his Godparents is considered sacred and the *padrinos* often treat a Godchild as one of their own children. As a matter of fact, it is the obligation of Godparents to take care of and support a Godson or Goddaughter should a tragedy occur and leave the child without parents.

In his section on Mexican-American children in *The Educational Needs of Minority Groups* (Lincoln, Nebraska: Professional Educators Publications, Inc., 1974) Alfredo Castaneda notes that ethnic values will vary in strength depending upon the community and family from which a child comes. Thus, values are strongest in *traditional* communities (in urban *barrios* and rural *colonias*) where family values are almost identical with those in Mexico. In *dualistic* communities, there is some adaptation to Anglo-American values and some maintenance of traditional Mexican values. In *atraditional* communities, Mexican-American values have become amalgamated with American values.

Castaneda notes that the strength of traditional values also will be affected by factors such as community distance from the Mexican border, length of residence in the United States, degree of urbanization, degree of economic and political strength, identity with Mexican history, and the prevailing degree of prejudice toward Mexican Americans.

In the traditional family, the child will have a strong sense of identity with his family, community, and ethnic group. Certain inferences are drawn from this sense of family identity; that the child will attempt to achieve for his family rather than for himself — to make his family proud of him; that individual gain is regarded as selfish, and that the student prefers to function cooperatively with his peers rather competitively for himself. The spirit of *La Raza*, the ethnic group, makes the child feel united with fellow Mexican Americans and responsible for working with them toward common goals.

Some observers see in this extended family spirit a commitment to help others and a special sensitivity to the needs and feelings of others. This sensitivity functions to avoid causing embarrassment to those in need by requiring them to ask for help. Potential helpers have to be able to interpret non-verbal cues. This is why Mexican-American children will not directly ask a teacher for help. The teacher must learn to interpret non-verbal cues. Achieving this skill also will permit the teacher to achieve the warm, personal relationship which Mexican-American students require.

Another aspect of the strong definition of family and sex roles in the Mexican-American household will affect the child's behavior in relation to school. Sometimes an older child will have to stay at home to take care of younger children. This he will do without question because to him it is equally important with attending school. Similarly, a boy will not assume a role in school that conflicts with his understanding of what is appropriate male behavior. One should try to understand this attitude without succumbing to the myth of *machismo* which does not necessarily describe all Mexican-American males.

The traditional warmth and friendliness that Americans have experienced on visits to Mexico could be a welcome addition to many classrooms north of the Rio Grande which too often have been characterized by traditions which may result in a lack of emotional display and a stress on formality.

Children of all ethnic groups require time to adjust to new situations. The cold and impersonal treatment frequently encountered in a school situation confuses them. If in extreme situations they are not only ignored but also mistreated, permanent damage to their psyche is a possibility. If this treatment is continued, the point of no return is reached when they are totally "turned off" with school and similar settings.

Like all children, the Mexican-American child has strengths which can be brought out, not only for his (or her) own self-development, but also for the benefit of other cultural groups as well. Children in all ethnic groups have strengths and skills that can be of value to their schoolmates.

Especially on the high-school level, many Mexican Americans have developed strong ethnic pride as a result of the Chicano movement. Like Black Americans who have begun to realize that "Black is beautiful," Chicanos are learning that "Brown is beautiful" and have begun to think of "Brown power" as a strength they can achieve.

Teachers must realize, of course, that there is no one characterization that will apply to all of their Mexican-American students. As has been pointed out, values will vary in terms of family, community, and ethnic identification. This variety is well-illustrated by the self-characterizations of junior and senior high school students cited by Manuel Ramirez in "Identity Crisis in Mexican-American Adolescents" (in *Educating The Mexican Americans*, edited by H. S. Johnson and W. Hernandez-M. Valley Forge, Pa.: Judson Press, 1970, pages 117-22). This material is reprinted by permission of the California State Education Department.

The first student is one who has strong identification with Anglo-American values. The second is one with strong Mexican-American identification. The third has achieved a bicultural identity.

A

I don't want to be known as Mexican American, but only as American. I was born in this country and raised among Americans. I think like an Anglo, I talk like one, and I dress like one. It's true I don't look like an Anglo, and sometimes I am rejected by them, but it would be worse if I spoke Spanish or said that I was of Mexican descent. I am sorry I do not get along well with my parents, but their views are old-fashioned. They still see themselves as Mexicans, and they do not understand me. Many times we have arguments, but I ignore them. In fact, I had to move away from my house because of our disagreements. I wish those people who are always making noise about being Mexican American would be quiet. We would all be better off if they accepted things as they are. I just want a good education. I don't want to be poor or discriminated against.

B

I am proud of being a Mexican American. We have a rich heritage. Mexico is a great country which is progressing fast, and it has a wonderful history and culture. My family is the most important thing in the world to me. I owe my parents everything and I will never complain when they need me. I don't want to be like the Anglos because they don't care about their families: they just care about themselves and making money. They don't like anybody who is different. At school the teachers would ignore you if they knew you weren't going to college and most of us Mexicans couldn't afford to go. The things I learned at school were against what my parents had taught me. I had to choose my parents because now they are old and they need my help and understanding. I know most people — even some Mexican Americans — look down on us because we are Mexican and I hate them. It is unhealthy and unnatural to want to be something you are not.

C

I am happy to be an American of Mexican descent. Because I am a Mexican I learned to be close to my family and they have been a source of strength and support for me. If things ever got too bad on the outside, I could always come to them for comfort and understanding. My Spanish also helped me a lot in my education and will also open a lot of doors for me when I look for a job. As an American I am happy to live in a great progressive country where we have the freedom to achieve

anything we want. I feel all I have achieved I owe to the help of my parents, the encouragement of my teachers, and the chance to live in a country like this one. I feel very rich and fortunate because I have two cultures rather than just one.

Mexican Americans Today

As we have seen, there is no one model of the Mexican American. It must be equally clear that *negative* stereotypes, often still appearing in American movies and in the thinking of those Americans whose psychological (and sometimes economic) needs require such crutches of support, are equally unjustified. Laziness, indolence, lack of motivation, etc., obviously are not broadly characteristic of any ethnic group. In addition, as we have seen, these labels often are erroneously applied by Americans who do not understand the values and life-styles of Mexican Americans.

Certainly such negative stereotypes do not apply to Mexican Americans who proudly call themselves "Chicano." (While many older Mexican Americans have associations which make them reluctant to accept this designation, younger people in many places in the United States have no such hesitancy.)

In Denver, Colorado, for example, Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales is a hero with whom many Mexican Americans can identify. Variously known as a leading boxer and poet (author of the epic poem "I Am Joaquin"), a businessman and politician, in 1965 he founded *La Crusada Para La Justicia* (the Crusade for Justice) as a medium through which the goals of Chicanos could be achieved. In the "Spiritual Plan of Aztlan" he linked Chicano hopes with the ancient Mexican nation of the Aztecs. With Reies Lopez Tijerina of New Mexico, he led the Chicano contingent in the Poor People's March on Washington, D. C. in 1968.

Activist Chicanos also revere such revolutionary heroes as Emiliano Zapata of Mexico and Che Guevara of Latin America. In California, and nationally, the leader of the farm workers, Cesar Chavez, has become a symbol of the struggle of Mexican Americans and other groups for economic justice.

In a variety of fields, Mexican Americans have enriched the lives of their own people and of other Americans: United States Senator Joseph Montoya of New Mexico; actors Anthony Quinn and Ricardo Montalban; entertainers Vikki Carr and Trini Lopez; dancer José Limon; topflight golfer Lee Trevino and champion tennis player Pancho Gonzalez; football stars Joe Kapp and Jim Plunkett.

These are but the headliners in a cast of millions of Mexican Americans who have contributed significantly to the welfare and progress of the United States in such essential day-to-day activities as farming and cattle-raising, mining and railroading, building and architecture.

When Anglo-American settlers arrived in the Southwest, the great bulk of the Mexican-American population was engaged in ranching and related agricultural activities. As the economy of the Southwest became more complex, the economic role of the Mexican Americans was mostly to provide the unskilled and skilled labor for the vast projects necessary to build the West. At this time in the 19th century, the Mexican Americans were primarily rural, or lived in small towns and villages.

Northern Europeans came from areas where water for irrigation and other purposes was available in abundance. Spain, in many areas, is semi-arid as were the lands from which the Moors came. Therefore, very elaborate and detailed laws concerning water were brought in by the Spanish colonists and were applied to the arid American West and Southwest. As a result, all laws in the United States that pertain to the use and distribution of water originate from this Spanish-Mexican source.

The English-speaking settlers were farmers but not ranchers. The Mexicans understood the terrain of the Southwest and, over 400 years, had developed a culture that pertained to ranching and stock raising. When the settlers from the East seized the Southwest they seized the ranching culture as well. For example, "cowboy" is a term translated from the word *vaquero* (a man who raises cows, from *vaca*: cow). The style of clothing; the names of the stock, plants and trees; and the organizational structure (boss, foreman, herders, etc.) were adopted intact. Modern English contains several hundred words that are either anglicized Spanish words, or transliterations of the same concept.

As they moved into the cities, Mexican Americans still provided unskilled labor, but some managed to rise economically and socially despite very severe discrimination against them. During World War II and afterwards, a concerted effort was made, especially by Mexican-American veterans, to improve their educational, social, and economic standing. After the Korean War, they became noticeable in attaining white-collar and managerial positions. Although they are still numerically underrepresented in the higher economic echelons, they are nevertheless increasing numerically in the professions.

The severe prejudice and discrimination directed at the Mexican

Americans in the Southwestern states kept them out of significant political participation for a long time. In New Mexico they made limited gains which they have managed to retain through the political process. In Texas and California, Mexican Americans made headway in the political sphere through the labor unions and other associations, i.e., the G. I. Forum and LULAC, (League of United Latin American Citizens). In their efforts to gain political leverage, Mexican Americans organized Viva Kennedy clubs for John F. Kennedy in 1966 and for Robert F. Kennedy in 1968. Through this type of organization they have gained state and Federal recognition. President Lyndon Johnson made it a point to increase Mexican-American participation in the Federal Government and established semi-cabinet level positions for them. Mexican Americans participated at a larger than usual scale in the Office of Economic opportunity and similar poverty programs.

In terms of elected positions at the local and state levels, Mexican Americans have yet to make a significant dent in the body politic. In Los Angeles, for example, this has been a difficult task to accomplish primarily because their voting districts have been gerrymandered. As a result, Mexican Americans are grossly under-represented in the city council and in the state legislature as well.

Despite these obstacles, Mexican Americans are gaining political skills and are improving their political position. In the 1970's, two Mexican Americans were elected to governorships in the Southwest. Jerry Apodaca was the first native Mexican American to be elected governor in New Mexico since 1918, when Ezequiel C. de Baca was chosen for the position.

Perhaps the richest gain other ethnic groups in this country may find in Mexican-American culture is in the interpersonal sphere. Here we have much to learn from a culture which does not esteem people only because of their material possessions and wealth, but because of the way they behave toward other people. Mexican Americans tend to accept or reject people in terms of the self-respect they show and of the respect which they extend to others.

By helping us to value man's essential humanity and humane treatment of his fellow man, Mexican Americans can enrich us all.

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THE PUERTO RICANS

By Joseph Fitzpatrick, S.J., and Lourdes Travieso

Me voy, ya me voy, pero un día volveré,
a buscar mi querer,
a soñar otra vez,
en mi viejo San Juan.

I am leaving, I'm leaving now,
but one day I will return, to find my love,
to dream once again,
in my old San Juan.

This refrain of the song "*En mi Viejo San Juan*" by Noel Estrada epitomizes the sentiments and emotions of many Puerto Ricans, which make them unique among newcomers to the American mainland. Other ethnic groups which settled here of their own volition came from distant shores and, for the most part, resolved to stay and "make a go" of it in this strange and oftentimes hostile land.

The Puerto Rican experience also must be viewed as a phenomenon of America's expansionist policies late in the 19th century. A fuller account of the Puerto Rican experience on the mainland than is

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possible in this brief article would involve examining the socio-political, economic, and historical contexts of these policies and their implications for the diaspora which exists today with reference to the Puerto Rican people.

Puerto Rico is a small island (100 miles long and 35 miles wide) in the Caribbean Sea, about 1,000 miles southeast of Florida. It was discovered by Christopher Columbus on November 19, 1493, during his second voyage to the New World, and was colonized by Spain as a military outpost. The island, called "Borinquen" by its native Taino inhabitants, was renamed Puerto Rico, or Rich Port, by the Spaniards. At the time of the island's discovery by the Spaniards, the Taino Indians were farmers who largely disappeared as a people during the conquest, either through flight, death by disease or warfare, or by absorption into the conquering Spanish population.

Since Puerto Rico yielded little gold to its conquerors, they used the island for the cultivation of sugar and coffee. Beginning in 1511, African slaves were brought to the island to work in the fields and to provide the manual labor which had been lost through the decimation of the native Indian population.

Over the years, these three peoples — Tainos, Europeans, and Blacks — intermingled and intermarried to produce the present population of Puerto Rico. Representing a wide spectrum ranging from Negroid to Caucasoid, Puerto Ricans evince many variations of race and color. While the widespread intermingling and intermarriage of persons of different races and colors are striking, and promising, characteristics of life in Puerto Rico, these qualities present Puerto Ricans with difficult problems when they come to the American mainland where color so often has been an obstacle to opportunities in employment, housing, education, and social relations.

Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

A growing movement of nationalism began to take hold among Puerto Ricans during the 18th and 19th centuries. It evolved with a distinctive Puerto Rican personality and character, with distinctive speech patterns and cultural traits incorporated from its three constituent cultures. There was a flourishing group of writers and poets, musicians and artists, "*criollos*," with a sense of their own Puerto Rican-ness.

Although communication between the Caribbean islands and Latin America was slow, the notion of freedom proposed by Simon

Bolivar and other patriots filtered into Puerto Rico and the idea of its becoming an independent nation received nurturance.

A Puerto Rican revolt for independence, led by Ramón Emeterio Betances, took place in Lares in 1868. This short-lived revolt, called *El Grito de Lares* (The Cry of Lares), is a symbol for the Puerto Ricans who desire independence. Five years later, in 1873, slavery was abolished in Puerto Rico by decree and without the bloodshed that took place in the Civil War in the United States.

During the 19th century, under the leadership of Betances, Eugenio Maria de Hostos, Ramón Baldorioty de Castro and others, Puerto Rico achieved increasing self-government. After many years of struggle, in 1897, Spain granted the island a Charter of Autonomy. Puerto Rico's new-found "freedom" was, however, abruptly terminated as a result of the Spanish-American War the following year when the island was ceded to the United States.

Puerto Rico was granted a measure of local government from 1900 to 1916 under the Foraker Act. The strategic location of Puerto Rico, its proximity to North and South America, and the United States' need to protect the Panama Canal during World War I — may have been some of the factors that finally influenced the American Government to grant Puerto Ricans U.S. citizenship in 1917 under the Jones Act.

During the late 19th century, many notable figures from Puerto Rico, some of them political exiles, lived in New York City. Included were Ramón Emeterio Betances as well as his collaborator for independence, Eugenio María de Hostos, and Lola Rodriguez de Tió, author of the national hymn of Puerto Rico.

Francisco Gonzalez Marin Shaw (Pachin Marin) brought his revolutionary paper, *El Postillon*, to New York City when it was suppressed in Puerto Rico. Also living in the city were Luis Muñoz Rivera, father of Muñoz Marin, and Santiago Iglesias, founder of the Socialist Party in Puerto Rico.

In this period, a Puerto Rican who contributed much to New York City was Arthur Schomburg, a self-taught scholar who created the Schomburg Collection of the New York Public Library, acknowledged to be one of the most distinguished collections on Negro history and culture in this country.

These Puerto Ricans in New York City constituted a distinguished, militant and scholarly group, many of whom were disappointed when the United States took possession of the island in 1898 instead of granting it the independence for which many Puerto Ricans had struggled and hoped over many years.

The Twentieth Century

Militant efforts toward independence took place in Puerto Rico during the 1930's under the leadership of Pedro Albizu Campos. Albizu died in 1965, but he is still the hero of the Puerto Rican independence effort and movement.

Several factors motivated Albizu and his followers. One was the severely depressed economic condition of the island after two devastating hurricanes, in 1928 and 1932. There was widespread injury, and loss of property, livestock, and arable land — all of which were aggravated by the worldwide depression in this period. Another factor was the rapid population increase.

A third factor was the lack of responsiveness of the U.S. Government to the island and the limitations on self-determination which were imposed — to the point of creating an all-English-speaking school system, in which Spanish was taught only as a subject; thereby robbing the Puerto Ricans of one of the most important elements of a culture — its language.

Finally there was the sting of oppressive racism experienced on the mainland by Albizu Campos himself (a mulatto Puerto Rican) when he attended Harvard University. He overcame these personal affronts and was graduated *Magna Cum Laude*.

In 1947, the right of Puerto Ricans to elect their own governor was recognized, and, in 1948, Luis Muñoz Marin became the first Governor elected by the Puerto Ricans under American rule.

On June 24, 1952, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico was inaugurated under a new constitution approved by the United States Congress and adopted in a referendum by the Puerto Rican people. This constituted Puerto Rico a Free Associated State of the United States (*Estado Libre Asociado*, generally referred to in English as the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico).

While Puerto Ricans are citizens of the United States, with a large measure of local autonomy, Puerto Rico is not a state. Puerto Rican residents pay no Federal taxes, do not vote for the President of the United States, and have no congressmen in Washington. However, they are represented by an elected Resident Commissioner who speaks for them in Congress but has no vote.

Puerto Ricans are subject to the American military draft. They distinguished themselves in World War II and also in the Korean and Vietnamese conflicts. The 65th Infantry Unit was one of the most notable fighting units in World War II.

Puerto Ricans who live on the American mainland pay taxes, and

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exercise all rights of citizenship in the states in which they reside.

In 1953, the General Assembly of the United Nations determined that Puerto Rico had exercised its right of self-determination and was not to be included among the "non-self-governing territories." The political status of the island continues to be a seriously debated issue: Should Puerto Ricans seek independence or statehood, or should they continue in their present status as a commonwealth? This overarching issue concerns not only Puerto Ricans living on the island, but also the million or more Puerto Ricans who live on the mainland.

The Migration

The 1970 Census reported 1,391,463 Puerto Ricans in the continental United States. Of these, 810,087 had been born in Puerto Rico and had migrated to the mainland; 581,376 were born on the mainland of Puerto Rican parents. The Census reported 2,712,033 persons in Puerto Rico. This means that more than one third as many Puerto Ricans live on the continent as on the island. They are heavily concentrated in Eastern cities, particularly, New York City, where 80 percent of the mainland Puerto Ricans were reported living in 1970. The following table presents the population for selected mainland cities.

Cities with Puerto Rican Population of 5,000 or More, 1970 Census

New York	817,712
Chicago	79,582
Newark	27,663
Philadelphia	26,948
Jersey City	16,325
Paterson	12,036
Los Angeles	10,116
Bridgeport	10,048
Hartford	8,631
Cleveland	8,104
Boston	7,335
Passaic	6,853
Miami	6,835
Camden	6,586
Lorain, Ohio	6,031
Rochester	5,481

(Source: 1970 Census of Population PC(2)-1E, Subject Reports: *Puerto Ricans in the United States.*)

The migration of Puerto Ricans seeking employment on the mainland began at the turn of the century. The Census of 1910 reported 1,513; in 1930 they numbered 53,000. After World War II, the great migration began. In the 1950 Census, 301,375 were reported and, in 1960, there were 887,662.

Large-scale immigration had taken place in the 1930's, after devastating hurricanes in 1928 and 1932. These hurricanes had aggravated the situation created by the worldwide depression in the same period. Many Puerto Ricans came to the continent seeking jobs and new lives.

After World War II, the increasing pace of industrialization on the island displaced many agricultural workers. They now had relatives and friends living on the continent, plus the attraction of an expanding economy and the availability of inexpensive travel in the new air age.

As citizens of the United States, Puerto Ricans face no restrictions on travel between the island and the mainland. The movement must be understood as part of the continuous internal migration of the United States. About five million people travel between Puerto Rico and the mainland every year; out of these, a relatively small number are coming to settle on the mainland or are returning to live on the island.

In recent years, the number of Puerto Ricans returning to the island to live has been increasing. The 1970 Census reported that 13 percent of all persons over 14 years of age who were living in Puerto Rico in 1970 had been living on the mainland in 1965. This migration back and forth is governed largely by economic conditions. If jobs or higher wages are available on the mainland, this attracts more Puerto Ricans; if economic conditions are poor, and there is hope of something better on the island they will return there. The journey between the island and the mainland is very short (a little more than three hours between New York and San Juan), very safe (the last fatal accident on Mainland-Puerto Rican routes was in 1952), and reasonably inexpensive.

Migration back and forth between the continent and the island maintains desirable contact, but it also presents serious problems. The Puertoriqueño in New York is regarded as a Puerto Rican; when he returns to the island, he is seen as a "Newyorican" or "Neo-Rican." In both cases, there is a degree of alienation. The school-age child is often bewildered by differences in language, curriculum and methods of instruction in the two "homes" that he has.

Location of Puerto Ricans on the mainland is determined by

many things. The fact that New York City was the other end of the shipping line in earlier days, and of airline flights in more recent times, explains why so many have clustered in New York. A Puerto Rican population had existed in the city for decades and constituted the magnet of family and friends to attract others. Finally, New York always has attracted newcomers.

Other communities that have some of the characteristics of New York, such as Jersey City and Newark, have attracted Puerto Ricans who represent an overflow from New York. Chicago, Bridgeport, Cleveland, Lorain (Ohio), and Milwaukee drew Puerto Ricans during World War II to work in the war industries. Philadelphia and Camden had large numbers who came as farm laborers and stayed near the farms of southern New Jersey and eastern Pennsylvania. Many unskilled Puerto Rican laborers have sought employment in Boston and settled there. In some cities, such as Miami and Los Angeles, Puerto Ricans are part of very numerous Hispanic populations, in Miami of Cubans, in Los Angeles of Mexicans and Mexican Americans. These circumstances lend a differing quality to the Puerto Rican experience, but, by and large, the abiding problems of Puerto Ricans on the mainland are found everywhere.

Chicago always has had the second largest Puerto Rican population on the mainland. It is very similar to the New York City population, but not nearly so poor. In 1970, median family income ($6,812) was much higher in Chicago than in New York. The Chicago population is much more dispersed than that of New York; Puerto Ricans live much closer to large concentrations of other ethnic groups, and they are very much outnumbered by a large population of people of Mexican background. In its earlier years, the community in Chicago was able to organize more easily than the much larger community in New York. An early organization, *Caballeros de San Juan* played an important role in the 1950's. This sense of identity may be related to a more favorable economic situation. But the community still has not succeeded in electing any public officials.

Another type of community is found in Lorain, Ohio. Puerto Ricans were attracted to Lorain because of better-paying factory jobs; were involved at an early date in union activity; have settled in privately-owned homes to a much larger extent than Puerto Ricans in the larger cities; and appear to have a more stable community life. On all indexes, the Lorain community has very favorable ratings, including the lowest percentage in poverty, except for California; a very low rate of female-headed families; a very small percentage on welfare; and the highest median family income (over $8,000) in 1970 of all

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Puerto Rican communities in the continental U.S. Giving unity and identity to the community in Lorain has been a small Puerto Rican Catholic parish which has served as a gathering place for the community as well as a basis for community action. It has fulfilled the role that ethnic and language parishes fulfilled for many earlier immigrant groups in the United States.

Adjustment

Like all newcomers, the Puerto Ricans face the problems of adjustment which trouble most immigrant or migrant people. As citizens of the United States, they have one great advantage. They have all the privileges of American citizenship at all times. They have the right to vote in mainland elections; they qualify for all benefits of American citizens; and there are no legal restrictions on their employment.

However, although they are American citizens, they come from an area where language and culture differ. Many do not speak English at all; many others speak it poorly. As a result, language is a major handicap in securing employment and in dealing with mainland bureaucracies such as schools, hospitals, departments of social service, the police, and the courts.

Additionally, they face many of the same distressing experiences that most newcomers have faced in the United States. They have to take menial, low-paying jobs with frequent periods of unemployment in which many of them are exploited. As unsophisticated consumers, they often are exploited by merchants; if they do not succeed in getting into public housing projects, many of them must live in poor, deteriorated houses; as they move into rapidly changing neighborhoods, they often are blamed for causing slum conditions, delinquency, and crime. These problems have always existed in large, rapidly changing American cities where people of many different cultural backgrounds and social classes meet. They are related to the complicated dynamics of large commercial and industrial centers. But the newcomers always have been blamed for the problems. As the latest newcomers, the Puerto Ricans are facing this difficulty now.

A significant element in Puerto Rican adjustment to the mainland is the proximity of the island and frequent, unrestricted transportation back and forth. When the Puerto Rican travels to the mainland, he comes to a different cultural area but he is still within his own land. His ability to return to the island at any moment may, in some cases, give a tentative quality to his residence on the mainland. If trouble

develops, if he loses his job, or if he just wants to go back where his family is, his going back is as easy as his coming.

Education

The major areas in which the inability to speak fluent English serves as a handicap are in education and employment. Education has a special significance for Puerto Ricans because they are still a young community. With a smaller proportion of aged persons on the continent and a larger proportion of children and youth, they represent a population on which education can have the greatest impact.

The educational level of Puerto Ricans who come to live permanently on the mainland is relatively low; the 1970 Census reported that those over 25 years of age had completed an average of 8.4 years of school, in contrast to 12.1 years for the total United States population. Puerto Ricans born in the United States do much better. Those over 25 years of age had completed an average of 11.5 years of schooling, almost on the level with the total United States population.

This level of schooling for second-generation Puerto Ricans throughout the nation does not mean that the educational problems of Puerto Ricans have been solved. For one thing, until recent years, "tracking" of disproportionate numbers of Puerto Rican students into lower-level curricula meant that few students earned an academic diploma necessary for admission to college. For another, the dropout rate, especially in New York City, is still high. For example, of all Puerto Ricans, first and second generations included, entering high school in New York City in 1966, 61 percent had dropped out before 1970. This is partly explained by language problems. The New York State Board of Regents reported that, in 1970, of the 260,000 Puerto Rican children in New York City public schools, more than one third (94,000) were non-English-speaking.

Nationally, about 60 percent of Puerto Rican youths have dropped out of school before completing high school. In cities such as Boston, where a very high percentage are first-generation Puerto Ricans (75.8 percent), the drop-out rate is much higher than in San Francisco, for example, where the percentage of first-generation students is relatively low (37.8 percent).

The problems of Puerto Ricans go far beyond language. Programs and experiences that take into account the Puerto Rican students' learning style and language are needed in schools. For this reason, *Aspira*, a Puerto Rican association, went into court and secured from the New York City Board of Education a consent decree

promising to offer instruction in their native tongue for children not speaking English. Bilingual-bicultural programs help youngsters from immigrant and migrant groups to master the school curriculum in their native language while they are learning English; they also gain an appreciation of both their family's culture and the culture of the continental United States at the same time. Students from majority cultures in the same classes have a corollary opportunity to learn a new language and to appreciate a new culture. Unfortunately, there are too few bilingual teachers at all school levels.

Bilingual-bicultural programs and other improvements (such as the policy of Open Admissons to the City University of New York now unfortunately in abeyance) are expected to enhance the educational achievement of Puerto Rican students. For instance, the presence of Puerto Ricans in the City University of New York is slowly increasing. In 1969, only 4 percent of the students in the City University were Puerto Ricans; this had advanced to 7 percent in 1973. It is too early to determine whether the termination in 1975 of the City University's traditional free-tuition policy will adversely affect Puerto Rican and other students for whose families tuition presents a major handicap.

Employment

The second area in which inability to speak English is a handicap is employment. The Puerto Ricans are among the poorest of the nation. A March, 1975, survey of the Census Bureau found that median income of Puerto Ricans nationally was $7,629, lowest of all Hispanic groups and much lower than the figure, $12,836, for the nation as a whole. A Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, October, 1976, speaks of Puerto Ricans generally as "relegated to a dismal existence in the urban ghetto," and reports that their ". . . special needs for job-training programs and bilingual and bicultural education have not been addressed by the Federal, state and local governments . . ."

Puerto Ricans are by far the poorest population in New York City with a median family income in 1970 of $5,706. Poor educational achievement, language difficulties, and discrimination all affect the complicated problem of assisting Puerto Ricans to prepare themselves to take advantage of occupational opportunities. The United States Department of Labor has shown that white-collar jobs are available in areas of high Puerto Rican unemployment, but the Puerto Ricans are either not qualified to take them or, as the United States

Commission on Civil Rights has reported, because of discrimination they find it difficult to get into them when they are prepared.

Between 1960 and 1970, median family income for whites had increased by 26 percent; that of the Blacks by 24 percent; that of the Puerto Ricans by only 13 percent. The serious problem here is the fact that median family income for second-generation Puerto Rican families is not much higher than that of the first generation. This is difficult to understand since there is evidence of considerable job advancement of second-generation Puerto Ricans over the first. Most first-generation Puerto Ricans are in unskilled or semi-skilled factory jobs, or in low-paying service occupations such as in hotels, restaurants, or custodial services.

There is a decided advance of second-generation Puerto Ricans, especially women, into white-collar occupational categories such as clerical and sales. The discrepancy between low income and occupational advancement is probably explained by the high rate of unemployment among Puerto Rican youth. In 1970–71, the Department of Labor reported that 16.9 percent of male Puerto Rican youths (16–19 years old) in New York City and 12.8 percent of the female youths in the labor force were unemployed in contrast to 10.6 percent unemployment among all white youths (16-19) in the labor force.

This unemployment rate among Puerto Rican men is particularly serious and represents a most critical area of need. New York City offers women jobs in the men's and women's clothing industries; women are more likely than men to find jobs in retail stores; offices, hotels, and restaurants also provide jobs that are normally filled by women. It often is easier, therefore, for the migrant woman than for her husband to find a job. For families coming from a culture where the woman does not work outside the home, a working wife is a blow to the self-esteem of the husband as a male, and this is aggravated if the wife is the major breadwinner. Frequently, this may lead to the break-up of the family unit.

The low level of median family income is directly related to the large number of Puerto Rican families headed by women: 28 percent of all Puerto Rican families in New York and Boston according to the 1970 Census, 20 percent in Philadelphia, 16 percent in Chicago. If these women are not employed, they must depend on public welfare which provides an income only at the subsistence level. If they are working, they are employed in most cases in low-paying jobs. Furthermore, most of these women have little education and cannot compete for employment at higher-income levels. In any event, employment for a mother who heads a family of small children depends

on adequate day-care help which is not always available to her.

Cultural Change

The first shock which affects a Puerto Rican coming to the northern cities of the mainland is the shock of cold weather. *El frio* is something that has never been a part of his life. He comes to adjust to that, even to enjoy some aspects such as the first snowfall which generally fascinates a newcomer. But the even greater coldness which affects him more deeply is a style of life which he identifies as "cold." The spontaneity, the warmth and affection (*cariño*), which are so openly expressed in a Latin world are missing.

The deep sense of a world of human feeling is lost in a world in which system and organization replace a world of personal relationships; where the pressure to *become someone* replaces the human satisfaction of being oneself; where the acceptance of life's realities with a sense of God's providence is replaced by a determination to dominate the world, to make things different. The meaningful expression of the Latin world, *si Dios quiere* (if God wills it) is lost in a world of restless people who keep saying, "Someone ought to do something about it."

It is "the cold people" rather than the cold climate which make the difference. There are profound values in the culture of the new world which hopefully a Puerto Rican will come to appreciate in contrast to his own; his children will inevitably be drawn into them. But the first clash of cultures brings a touch of suffering, which he shares with every person who has left the land of his fathers and has gone as a stranger to a strange land. Millions of immigrants have faced the same experience before; the Puerto Rican will face it with the same measure of success or failure as have others.

Problems of Color

Probably the most puzzling aspect of the mainland new world which affects the Puerto Rican is the problem of color. As has been indicated, Puerto Ricans come from a world where people range in color from Caucasoid to Negroid, with all variations in between, sometimes within the same family. There is a sensitivity to color among Puerto Ricans, as well as discrimination, but it plays itself out very differently than on the mainland.

On the island, whiteness is more subtly accepted while at the same time "pure" whiteness is questioned because of the history of

intermarriage in Puerto Rico. In instances in which people indicate that they *think* they are "pure white," Puerto Ricans will remind them of the saying *"El que no tiene Dinga, tiene Mandinga."* – *"If you don't have Dinga" (an African tribe) "you have Mandinga." (another African tribe).*

In addition, on the island the acceptance of whiteness is offset by the prizing of blackness. For example, one of the most endearing and loving terms one Puerto Rican can call another is to say *"mi negro"* or *"mi negrita"* ("my black one") thereby ascribing very loving and tender feelings, without any negative or paternalistic implications. Furthermore, the beautiful women of Puerto Rico are prized for their *piel canela* (cinnamon skin).

In effect, there are still some unresolved questions about "Blackness" in Puerto Rico, although it has not entirely impeded social and political progress. Some of the outstanding heroes of the Puerto Rican people have been black — such as Rafael Cordero a Black teacher who distinguished himself by educating the poor; José Celso Barbosa, a Black physician who founded the Republican Party of Puerto Rico; Arthur Schomburg, mentioned previously in this article, as well as Pedro Albizu Campos, Roberto Clemente, and Ramos Antonini, a former President of the Puerto Rican Senate.

The important distinction that we would like to make here is that racism in Puerto Rico is *less overt* than racism on the mainland, not necessarily less painful, but certainly a more open acceptance to variation of skin color, and thereby looking at a person in a holistic manner rather than compartmentalizing him into "color" categories.

In Puerto Rico, more important than color is the sense that an individual comes from *buena familia* (a "good family"). In other words, the "name" that one carries and the family traditions associated with that "name" are important.

It is interesting to note that one of the laws that the first Puerto Rican Governor, Luis Muñoz Marin, introduced in Puerto Rico was that there was *ningun hijo sin padre*, (no bastard-children law.) Both parents were acknowledged in birth certificates whether they were legally married or not.

If class differences are recognized and respected, there is an acceptance of one another that marks, in the Puerto Rican world, a pattern of widespread social intermingling and intermarriage among people of different colors.

On the mainland, color has a different meaning. Puerto Ricans are dismayed at the isolated manner in which Black Americans and other minorities are treated. The Black Puerto Rican frequently finds

himself/herself the victim of this segregated treatment. Moreover, Black Puerto Ricans often find themselves "trapped" by Black-White problems on the mainland and the dilemma they present in view of their prior experience on the island where there is broader acceptance of people, regardless of their color.

The poignant autobiography of Piri Thomas, *Down These Mean Streets*, is a vivid expression of this ambiguity. Elena Padilla, the Puerto Rican anthropologist, in her study, *Up from Puerto Rico*, speculates that Puerto Ricans on the mainland eventually will split and those who are considered colored will become part of the Black world. Only time will tell whether this will happen. There are still evidences among Puerto Ricans on the mainland that they are retaining their more humane acceptance of people of various colors. If they succeed in retaining this attitude and communicate it to mainland Americans, it will be one of the valuable consequences of their coming to continental United States.

Religion

Puerto Ricans are predominantly Catholic, although Protestantism has established itself on the island since it became an American possession, and Pentecostal sects have spread widely in the past generation or two. But the Puerto Ricans are the first large group of Catholics to come to mainland cities without bringing their own clergy with them. Thus, the continuity of religious style and practice which gave such great support to earlier immigrants has been largely missing for the Puerto Ricans. They come from a culture dominated by a Spanish Colonial tradition of Catholicism. Faith is spontaneous rather than rationalized. A person is Catholic because he is born into a community that is Catholic, the *Pueblo*, the people of the Lord, not because he registers as a member of a parish and is regularly at Mass and the sacraments.

He knows and respects these, but the great moments of religious practice are the community celebrations, the processions, or fiestas, when the people as a people worship God and express their religious devotion. The cult of the saints predominates — because these are one's friends; they make up a religious world of personal relationships. They do favors for one; and one honors them in return. It would have been helpful had the Puerto Ricans through their Puerto Rican priests been able to bring these traditions with them.

On the contrary, they came to large mainland cities, to existing parishes of Irish or German or Italian or Polish background, and have

had to rely on mainland priests to be the link between their new world and their traditional religious faith. Great efforts have been made by many mainland priests and bishops to meet this need, and some have had remarkable success. But to a large extent, the Catholic world of the mainland has been marked by the same coldness the Puerto Rican experiences in the world at large.

The Catholic Church continues to make vigorous efforts to meet the needs of the Puerto Ricans, but with varying success. Pentecostal churches continue to multiply and flourish on the mainland, providing a simple, familiar setting for religious practice. Most Puerto Ricans appear to have little contact with any church, whether Catholic, Protestant or Pentecostal, but rely largely on folk religious practices among family and neighbors.

Some Puerto Ricans, in their veneration for the saints (*Santeria*), add to them spiritual qualities that have African origins. This is similar to the practice of Afro-Cubans, Dominicans, or other Caribbean cultures in which, for example, Santa Barbara is called *Changó*. She is said to like red objects, such as apples and red roses. In some homes there will be altars with the picture of the saint and some related objects. In many Puerto Rican neighborhoods, a variety of *Botanicas* will be found. The Botanicas sell religious articles, candles of different colors for the various saints, and herbs, which are believed to have curative properties. Even though it is only a minority of Puerto Ricans who follow these practices, or who visit *centros espiritistas* (spiritualist centers), there is an acceptance of this pattern of behavior and a sense of *respeto* (respect) for those people who believe in it.

Often when there is a need for emotional support, some Puerto Ricans are more likely to visit a "spiritualist" for advice, use *un trabajo* (a work of magic), or purchase some herbs in a Botanica than visit a trained mental health worker or psychologist.

Bilingualism

In moving back and forth, from the island to the mainland — and vice versa — Puerto Rican children face a serious linguistic problem which highlights the importance of bilingualism. For example, Joshua Fishman, in his extensive study *Bilingualism in the Barrio*, found evidence that Puerto Ricans on the mainland were losing their knowledge of Spanish as all previous newcomers had lost their native languages.

One of the ways in which Puerto Rican newcomers have dealt with language is to attach Spanish endings or articles to English

words such as "furniture," *furnitura*; "the window," *la window*; "the market," *la marketa*; "the roof," *el rufo*; "the boss," *el boso*; "the nurse," *la nursa*. This has often been called in a figurative sense "Spanglish," but it has served as a helpful device in communication and has been incorporated into the speech patterns of the first and second generation of Puerto Ricans.

A major current problem in Puerto Rico is the large number of school children returning from the mainland who do not know Spanish well enough to be instructed in it. Bilingual classes in English and Spanish have now become a necessity in Puerto Rico. Forty-five thousand children in schools in Puerto Rico in 1976 required special training in Spanish. Because so many children migrate back and forth between the island and the continent, there is a serious need for coordination between the school systems in the two locations on language instruction.

As has been mentioned previously, many of these returnees are called "Neo-Ricans." The shock of moving to the island has a profound effect on their social patterns, particularly in the classroom. Many of them come from urban ghettos, where survival required one to be more "aggressive" and to hold onto a "piece" of one's "turf." Returning children often are shunned and ostracized by their Puerto Rican counterparts, not only for their behavior but also for their inability to speak Spanish.

The insistence on bilingualism in schools on the mainland may be helpful not only to Puerto Ricans but to other Latins as well. Bilingual instruction enables them to retain their native language and culture while becoming proficient in English. The loss of language has been one of the unfortunate features of the immigrant experience in the United States. The insistence on bilingualism may reverse this trend.

For one thing, it resists, if it does not stop entirely, the tendency of newcomers to be ashamed of their language. The foreign language is now being seen much more as a great heritage which should be preserved, and children's security in their own language should make the learning of English easier. Secondly, it strengthens respect for the culture of the newcomer. With confidence in the value and beauty of the way of life from which they come, the newcomers enjoy the psycho-social security which enables them to relate more easily to the strange culture of their new world. This is the basis for cultural pluralism as well as its valuable consequence.

With reference to the Puerto Ricans on the mainland, however, the rate of outgroup marriages indicates that despite language, the

pattern of adjustment and assimilation characteristic of earlier newcomers is characteristic of Puerto Ricans as well. The 1970 census reported that 50 percent of second-generation married Puerto Ricans had spouses who were not Puerto Rican, in contrast to 20 percent of first-generation Puerto Ricans. Outgroup marriage (marrying someone of a different ethnic, racial, or religious group) is accepted by many sociologists as one of the major indicators that newcomers or their descendants have become assimilated into American life. For example, among all immigrants in New York City in the years 1908–1912, the number of outgroup marriages among members of the second-generation was more than three times as high as it was for those of the first generation.

To summarize briefly, if the bilingual programs in mainland schools enjoy success and acceptance, this may reinforce the effort of Puerto Ricans to retain their native language as they become proficient in English, and assist them in achieving cultural pluralism in their mainland experience. In addition, it will enable the dominant group to view bilingualism within a broader, more global, perspective which can only have salutary effects on both cultures. However, the increasing rate of intermarriage seems to indicate that the tide of assimilation may be running much stronger than the tide for cultural pluralism.

The increasing population in Puerto Rico of islanders who have returned from the mainland indicates this. They bring back their children, many of whom have been born on the mainland and have never been to the island, and their only experiences have been the stories told by family and friends, folk songs, and family pictures of a picturesque island.

As long as this is true, Puerto Rico will constitute a culturally distinct part of the United States. Furthermore, it is still true that Puerto Rico is predominantly a Spanish-speaking island. And scholars have repeatedly insisted that language is the essential carrier of a culture. As long as this remains true, and there is no evidence that the use of Spanish is declining in Puerto Rico, the island will remain a part of the United States which is culturally different.

On the other hand, the culture of the mainland is having a profound effect on the island. The rise of the middle class, the economic development, the rapid expansion of suburban areas, the supermarkets and superhighways, television, movies, and most of all the large number of returning Puerto Ricans, constitute an impact of mainland culture which is diminishing the difference between the two worlds. Many Puerto Ricans regret this; they feel that their tradi-

tional culture is dying and that they are ceasing to be what they were. But the reality is there; similarities between the cultural worlds are appearing, making the continuity of cultural pluralism less likely. The effort to retain cultural identity is one of the forces behind the Puerto Rican Independence Movement.

Achievements of Puerto Ricans on the Continent

Vigorous efforts are being made by the Puerto Rican community to cope with its problems, to meet the needs of its people, and to assist them in taking advantage of opportunities for a better life which are available in the United States. *Aspira* is an organization which promotes interest in the educational achievements of Puerto Rican youth in many cities of the nation. The *Puerto Rican Family Institute* in New York City has had considerable success in programs to provide supporting services which contribute to a strengthening of Puerto Rican families and the development among them of a capacity to guide their children to a mature adulthood.

By initiating class-action suits, The *Puerto Rican Legal and Education Defense Fund* is serving Puerto Ricans nationwide to secure for them the services to which they are entitled. *The Puerto Rican Forum*, the first New York City-wide, now nationwide, organization to represent the general interests of the Puerto Rican Community, is promoting a variety of programs for the improvement of the life of Puerto Ricans on the mainland. Local organizations in various cities also reflect the increasing activity and sophistication of the Puerto Rican people.

Of special interest are the hometown clubs which parallel similar associations in other immigrant groups. These clubs provide social ties for persons coming from the same village, but even more important, they serve an advocacy role for persons not familiar with new procedures and bureaucracies in securing employment, education, health care, legal help, and other necessities from official agencies which may seem threatening to a newcomer. Second-generation Puerto Ricans tend to have less need for these clubs and, accordingly, make less use of them.

Politically, the Puerto Rican community is very weak, yet there is some evidence that it is gaining strength and influence, at least in New York City. For example, Herman Badillo is a Congressman from the Bronx; he also was a strong challenger in 1973 for the office of Mayor of New York. He did so well in the primary election, as a matter of fact, that a run-off election was necessary between Badillo and

Abraham Beame to determine the latter's candidacy in 1973. In New York State, there are two Puerto Rican Senators and four State Assemblymen, including the State's youngest assemblyman, José Serrano. Two Puerto Ricans have been elected to the New York City Council.

This is a substantial improvement over the past five years. Puerto Ricans are still struggling to elect candidates in other cities; outside New York there are as yet no elected officials. Appointments to public office also have increased, especially in the field of education, although the United States Civil Rights Commission Report calls attention to widespread neglect on the part of governments, both Federal and local, in failing to appoint suitable Puerto Rican candidates to responsible positions.

In the field of the arts, Justino Diaz and Martina Arroyo are well-known performers with the Metropolitan Opera Company. Graciela Rivera also has been well-known as a singer. Rita Moreno, José Ferrer, Raul Julia and Hector Elizondo are Broadway theatre stars; Miriam Colon has become well-known for the promotion of the Puerto Rican Traveling Threatre which brings artistic performances to the streets and neighborhoods of New York City.

Young poets and writers are appearing in increasing numbers, including Jack Agueros; Piri Thomas, author of *Down These Mean Streets;* Miguel Piñero, writer of the prize-winning play, *Short Eyes.* For many years, the *Instituto de Cultura Puertoriqueña*, under the direction of Luis Quero Chiesa, has encouraged the development of the arts among Puerto Ricans, and presents a series of awards at an annual banquet to Puerto Ricans who have distinguished themselves in the arts or the professions.

In 1971 the *Institute of Contemporary Hispanic Art* was founded and under the directorship of Marifé Hernández, has been calling the attention of the public to an impressive array of developing Puerto Rican and Hispanic artists. It is in the area of popular music, however, that mainland Americans are probably most aware of the presence of the Puerto Rican influence. José Feliciano, the blind guitarist, is nationally known, as are a large number of other musicians. It is only natural that the artists are concentrated in New York City, the major center for artistic activity in the United States. Artists, however, tend to have a national presence and their achievements represent the Puerto Ricans everywhere.

In many cities, an event in which the Puerto Rican community takes great pride is the annual Puerto Rican parade in which hometown clubs are prominent. In New York City, for example, this

has become a major political and social event, taking its place with the Saint Patrick's Day Parade, the parade of the Dia de la Raza, and various other ethnic events in the city. The annual Puerto Rican Folk Fiesta in New York is another event in which the arts and crafts of Puerto Ricans are displayed and thousands participate in an afternoon and evening fiesta in Central Park. Newark, Jersey City, Cleveland, Chicago and numerous other cities also have their parades. The San Juan Fiesta, the celebration of the Patron Saint of Puerto Rico, is a religious as well as civic event in New York, Chicago, and other cities.

Athletic achievement always has been a career ladder for newcomers, as well as a source of pride and recognition. Puerto Ricans have done well in this area. Roberto Clemente became not only a legend on the baseball field but an international hero when he died seeking to bring aid to the earthquake victims of Nicaragua. Felix Montilla and Eddie Figueroa are also famous baseball stars. What Clemente was on the ball field, Angel Cordero has become as a jockey, one of the great winners of recent years.

There are two predominantly Puerto Rican radio stations and TV channels in New York City. Marifé Hernández conducts programs on Channel 11. The Public Broadcasting Service presents a weekly program "Realidades" with Humberto Cintron as its executive producer. Geraldo Rivera has achieved prominence as a newscaster for the American Broadcasting Company, particularly because of his work with the mentally retarded.

Two newspapers in the city serve the Puerto Rican population, particularly *El Diario de Nueva York*; and an increasing number of magazines, in Spanish and English, continue to appear. In brief, the city's Puerto Ricans can no longer be described as "deprived newcomers." The Puerto Rican community is beginning to take hold of its life on the mainland.

This article on the Puerto Ricans would not be complete without some discussion about the "Rican," "Nuyorican" or "Neo-Rican" a member of the second generation of Puerto Ricans, one born in the continental United States, or who arrived at an early age. He has been described as a "hybrid" person, who thinks and speaks in both languages, but yet is a stranger in both lands. The Neo-Rican, having grown up in the ghettos and barrios, has adopted ghetto slang and life-style patterns, is often at odds with the older generation of Puerto Ricans who are seen as more passive — "ñangotao" or con el "ay bendito" (submissive) — and often does not have the same feeling for returning to live permanently on the island. This has often perplexed and hurt the older generations of Puerto Ricans who see their children

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becoming very "Americano" and losing their traditional island values.

It is a difficult task to make a blanket statement about the Neo-Ricans because the term covers such a complex set of attitudes.

On the one hand, having been forced to live in the ghetto creates a certain sharpness or "hipness" which enables one to survive the oppressiveness of this situation. Some young Neo-Ricans were drawn by the political movement of the 1960's into groups such as the Young Lords and the Real Great Society. Others have banded into gangs such as the Ghetto Brothers and the Savage Skulls.

All of these young people share in trying to "cope" with the system in their own fashion — in attempting to ameliorate their substandard living conditions, education, and jobs; and in trying to carve out an identity which is uniquely theirs — to be a "Rican."

Some "Ricans" are allied with political movements for independence, even though many of them may have never been to Puerto Rico. They are drawn to the philosophical concept of liberation of the Third World peoples and of having a "homeland."

Still others are committed to staying here and making their permanent home in the continental United States, while at the same time, maintaining their identity as Puerto Ricans or "Ricans" and maintaining the ties to the homeland or their "roots" to the island. Many of the contributions made by Puerto Ricans in the United States have been made by the "Nuyorican."

The "Nuyorican" may well hold the promise for the future as he forges ahead, creates a new ambiance, gains a measure of acceptance about himself as a person, and is able to unleash the creativity and expressiveness of his unique individuality.

Can he, at the same time become a fully-respected member of this larger pluralistic society? If his answer is affirmative, our nation will be the richer for it; if not, we all will be the poorer.

SUGGESTED ADDITIONAL READINGS

Algarín, Miguel and Piñero, Miguel. *Nuyorican Poetry: An Anthology of Puerto Rican Words and Feelings*. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1975.

Fitzpatrick, Joseph P. *Puerto Rican Americans: The Meaning of Migration to the Mainland*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1971.

A comprehensive discussion of the Puerto Rican migration and the experience of Puerto Ricans on the mainland.

Lopez, Alfredo. *The Puerto Rican Papers: Notes on the Re-emergence of a Nation*. Indianapolis/New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1973.

Affords an up-to-date understanding of Puerto Ricans today — of their experiences and aspirations as people.

Steward, Julian, et al. *People of Puerto Rico*. Champaign-Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1956.
Probably the finest anthropological study of Puerto Rico in existence. Though somewhat dated, it still provides abundant insights into the nature and diversity of Puerto Rican life. A study of four distinct areas of the island, plus a study of its top 400 families.

Tovar, Federico Ribes. *Enciclopedia Puertorriqueña Ilustrada*. 3 vols. New York: Plus Ultra Educational Publishers, Inc. 1970.
A completely bilingual encyclopedia providing a wide range of information about persons, events and achievements of Puerto Ricans in Puerto Rico and on the mainland. For quick and handy reference, it is the only source of its kind in existence.

Vivó, Paquita. *The Puerto Ricans: An Annotated Bibliography*. New York: R.R. Bowker and Co., 1973.
This is the most complete and best annotated bibliography in English on Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans. It covers all aspects of the Puerto Rican experience.

Wagenheim, Kal. *Puerto Rico, A Profile*. New York: Praeger, 1970.
Probably the best short, but adequate, history in English of Puerto Rico and the Puerto Ricans.

Part Three

SOME IMPLICATIONS

In Praise of Diversity: Some Implications

By Carl A. Grant and Susan L. Melnick

Although pluralism has always existed in the United States, a growing recognition of cultural diversity is evident today. As a society, however, we have traditionally maligned diversity instead of welcoming, respecting, and appreciating it. It is time now for society's institutions, and our schools in particular, to affirm this new recognition. The articles in this volume offer a wide range of information from which we may draw suggestions and implications for celebrating the cultural, racial, linguistic, religious, and individual variations which characterize this country.

The purpose of this article, then, is to help set the reader's thoughts in motion, to help spark the teacher's creativity. The suggestions and implications indicated here, therefore, should be regarded as illustrative rather than as exhaustive — as only a beginning.

As the title of this volume suggests, the ultimate use of these materials is for helping teachers to "praise" diversity, no matter how varied. Taken as a whole, the ethnic vignettes offer a representative overview of cultural, racial, and individual diversity in this country. Although the vignettes were written separately to provide a profile of the cultural group(s) presented, they are intended to be used together to foster cultural pluralism. While ethnic pride rings through each vignette, no author suggests that his/her ethnic group should be regarded as more important to this country's history than other groups. The implications, then, for praising diversity are two-fold: as process and as content to promote the affirmation of cultural pluralism.

CARL GRANT *is identified in connection with his earlier article in this volume.*

SUSAN MELNICK *has written a number of articles on multicultural education, bilingual education, language, and in-service teacher education. In addition, she has conducted numerous workshops nationally in the area of language programs for the linguistically different. Currently she is completing Ph.D. work at the University of Wisconsin–Madison.*

Praising Diversity as Process

While many of the vignettes suggest cultural traits that should be taken into account by teachers, care should be exercised in generalizing these characteristics to all students of each culture. Although the appreciation of intragroup similarities and differences is essential for teachers, the basic issue should be accepting and developing each and every child as a unique individual, both because of and apart from his/her culture. The implications for accepting classroom behavior, and designing alternative methods and strategies for classroom implementation, should be based not on generalizations about race or ethnicity but (as Harry Rivlin and Dorothy Fraser have pointed out in their article in this volume) rather on the individuality of each student.

If we examine the notion of praising diversity as process in relation to each student's individuality, it becomes necessary to place our examination within the context of our roles as teachers — what we do on a daily basis with our students as a group and with each child individually. For our purposes, let us assume that the roles of teachers may be designated as having six* interrelated but nonetheless distinguishable functions:

1. Director of Learning
2. Counselor and Guidance Worker
3. Mediator of Culture
4. Link with the Community
5. Member of the School Staff
6. Member of the Profession

As *Directors of Learning*, teachers are expected to plan, carry out, and evaluate effective learning activities for each and every student in their classrooms. More specifically, they are expected to understand individual students and to demonstrate the ability to meet individual needs and develop individual talents. The implication for praising diversity here is for teachers to fully understand, acknowledge, and affirm the cultural dimensions of each child's life and to overcome common assumptions and stereotypes about talent outlets for students based on erroneous cultural suppositions and expectations.

In addition, teachers are expected to evaluate the effectiveness of classroom activities in achieving desired outcomes. Since the ulti-

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*See *Six Areas of Teacher Competence* (Burlingame, CAL.: California Teachers Association, 1964). The following discussion is based on this book's explication of teacher roles.

mate outcome desired is self-actualization for each child, praising diversity implies the assessment of our activities and materials from a pluralistic standpoint, making certain that we help every child feel a sense of belongingness and worth as a valuable human being.

As *Counselors and Guidance Workers*, teachers are expected not only to educate students for important roles in society but also to aid students in becoming as effective people as possible by helping them resolve academic, vocational, and social areas of concern. In order to praise diversity in a pluralistic society, the implications may be considered as both short- and long-range. Teachers should, for example, establish strong, caring relationships with their students, as a group and as individuals, and with their families to provide students with maximum access to opportunities for fulfillment.

Furthermore, vocational guidance should be based on knowledge of realistic possibilities for each child and the desire to support and enhance whatever aspirations each child may have. By effectively using accurate and relevant cultural and individual information pertinent to each student, teachers can better recognize the need for specialized services for some children without summarily assuming that variations from the dominant norms are cause for "special" education.

Traditionally, *Mediators of Culture* were expected to provide students with an understanding of democratic processes and the rights and responsibilities of citizenship for effective participation in American society. While this traditional goal is crucial for today's students, its interpretation for praising diversity must be expanded. Through school content, teaching techniques, and teacher attitudes, students must acquire not only an understanding of the heritage of what has become the dominant culture in America but also a deep appreciation of their own heritages and those of all other cultural groups which comprise the American population. By drawing on a sensitive and scholarly background, developed, for example, through an understanding of the information presented and suggested by the ethnic vignettes in this volume, teachers can enrich the cultural and individual growth of each student.

Moreover, teachers as Mediators of Culture must develop in students the appropriate attitudes and necessary critical and interpretive skills for effective problem-solving in a pluralistic society. The implication here is for recognizing and investigating in depth the potential conflict areas and critical issues which today's students must be able to cope with and possibly resolve as tomorrow's adults. In essence, by praising and affirming diversity of cultures in America,

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teachers can provide meaningful links between each child and his/her world.

To establish these crucial links, teachers may begin by fulfilling their role as a *Link with the Community*. By working effectively with parents and other community members and appreciating their individual and cultural wishes and expectations, teachers can provide a model for students as effective participants in society. Through accepting and praising diversity within the school community, each teacher can increase the potential effectiveness and relevance of the school program. They can, for example, utilize the community as both a resource and a location for applying school subjects in a meaningful way. In addition, teachers can assume leadership roles in community affairs; by demonstrating their own commitment to praising diversity and affirming pluralism, they can help to make their community a better place for students to learn, live, and grow.

As a *Member of the School Staff*, each teacher is expected to plan, carry out, and evaluate school experiences for students on a broader scale than the individual classroom. Further, the teacher is expected to share equally in the responsibilities associated with both curricular and extra-curricular activities and to participate in the development and refinement of school policies and practices. The implications for praising diversity here include cooperative planning with school and community members, appreciating and respecting the diversity of backgrounds, opinions, and expectations. Implicit within this role is the desire and willingness to participate in in-service activities to constantly refine teaching skills and attitudes to improve educational and societal opportunities for each child in the school. This participation must, in the end, be grounded in the teacher's full awareness of previous and current inequities.

Finally, as *Members of the Profession*, teachers are expected to further the goals of teaching and accepting the responsibilities associated with expanding the lives of children. By supporting and refining ethical concerns of the profession, establishing and maintaining appropriate relationships with professional colleagues and the lay public, and pursuing and upgrading professional growth and personal commitment, teachers can fulfill one of society's most important responsibilities.

In order to meet the expectations of these six roles in relation to praising diversity as both noted and suggested, it is essential that we begin by expanding our knowledge of cultural and racial similarities and differences. Clearly, an understanding, acceptance, and affirmation of the views of the authors of the vignettes are the most accessible

and logical starting points for praising diversity as process. Only then can we turn our attention to the possibilities for curricular content.

Praising Diversity as Content

Although this volume presents vignettes of nine different cultural groups, the articles are not intended to be used primarily as nine separate treatments of people. In other words, it is recommended that pertinent information relating to specific thematic units (for example, "The Family" or "Immigration and Migration") be drawn by the teacher from the vignettes to enhance the topic at hand. While specific information from each cultural group may be of interest to teachers and students, separate units on each cultural group might tend to foster specialized interests or ethnic separatism rather than the affirmation of diversity within the total American context.

In addition, the nine vignettes are to be taken as illustrative of materials which should be compiled by teachers and students on *all* cultural groups and incorporated into the classroom and total school environment on a daily basis. The following sections on Historical Treatment, Contributions, Cultural Understanding, and Critical Issues indicate in greater detail the suggested directions for praising diversity as content.

Historical Treatment. Each of the vignettes presents a summary view of the history of each cultural group's experiences in the American context. Yet no inference is to be made for rewriting school history from separate ethnic perspectives. Instead, the historical treatment is intended to provide information for teachers and students to realistically expand current materials which tend to focus primarily on dominant cultural patterns. Teachers can, for example, expand the topic of "Immigration and Migration" so that students can gain a comprehensive understanding of issues such as the following:

1. The differential meaning of voluntary and forced immigration and migration.
2. The historical dimensions of "who came when" and "who went where" in major and minor waves.
3. The reasons for immigration and migration, both historical and current, and the interrelationships and distinctions among political freedom, religious freedom, and economic opportunity.

4. An understanding and appreciation of the feelings and attitudes of immigrants and migrants, both voluntary and forced.
5. An understanding of the impact of immigration and migration on those who came, voluntarily and unwillingly, and on those already here.

By examining causes and effects of immigration and migration patterns generally, and specifically as they relate to different cultural and racial groups, students can better appreciate the ramifications of the country's settlement history. In addition, students can gain greater insight into the foundations of adjustment problems that arise from language barriers; discrimination in housing and employment based on racial or cultural background, sex, economic status, age, and occupational skill; and differential schooling practices and social behaviors.

Contributions. All of the vignettes refer to the contributions of both famous and ordinary men and women to American life. In most cases, these contributions are of parallel rather than singular importance, as the participation of the Chinese Americans, Mexican Americans, and Italian Americans in the development of the railroads indicates. The classroom implications for acknowledging the contributions of all people suggest the following:

1. To seek out the contributions of all who have participated in and enhanced the development of this nation and to examine the dimensions of their participation in detail. This might entail researching people, using, for example, the following categories of participation:
   Plastic Arts: Painting, Sculpture, Architecutre, Photography Jewelry and Metalwork, Weaving and Fibrework, Ceramics
   Business and Commerce: Banking and Finance, Industry, Economics, Small Business, Agriculture
   Journalism: Broadcast, Public Relations, Advertising, Newspapers
   Literature: Prose, Poetry, Drama
   Music, Dance, Entertainment, and other Performing Arts
   Science and Engineering — Politics, Government, and Law — Religion — Sports — Mass Media
2. To incorporate the contributions of individuals from all cultural groups into the curriculum on a day-to-day basis, not just on days designated as "appropriate," such as Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday, Oktoberfest, El Cinco de Mayo, Chinese New Year, Syttende Mai, Bastille Day, etc.

3. To analyze the relative rewards and disadvantages in the process of contributing to society to better understand who has profited and who has been penalized as a result of technological and economic growth in America.

By enhancing curricular activities through incorporation of the contributions of ordinary and famous men and women from all cultural groups, teachers can enable students to more fully understand that *all* have contributed in a wide variety of ways, yet, at the same time, have not all shared equitably in the rewards.

Cultural Understanding. To encourage a firmer understanding of what "culture" means, teachers may draw a number of suggestions from the information presented in the vignettes. By examining the similarities and differences among and within cultural and racial groups, for example, students can learn about common needs which all people share as well as the many different ways in which they attempt to meet their needs. Through contrasts and comparisons of alternative family structures and educational patterns, for instance, students can come to appreciate and accept the wide diversity of life-styles, value systems, and communication patterns which characterize many members of differing cultural and racial backgrounds. In addition, an in-depth study of such cultural enclaves as barrios and Chinatowns rather than the superficial treatment promoted by Taco Day or singular visits to Chinese restaurants can lead students to a broader understanding of the concept of culture and the continued influence of one's history and heritage in a contemporary context. Further, an analysis of the impact of ethnicity and race and concomitant discrimination on the part of both minority and majority culture members can develop in students a heightened awareness of differential accesses to success in society and the unjustified lack of power for some people in making decisions that affect the lives of us all.

*Critical Issues.** In order to provide students with the understanding necessary for effective participation in a pluralistic society, it is essential for students to be encouraged to investigate and discuss the critical issues that affect their present and future lives. Whether they be cultural, political, social, or economic issues, students must examine their foundations, manifestations, impact, and potential resolution in an individual as well as a comprehensive context. Such examinations must include broad areas such as individual and institutional racism and sexism,and discrimination against the elderly and the handicapped as viable members of society. Specific topics drawn from these broader areas might include the following:

1. Traditional social, vocational, and educational patterns of minorities, women, the elderly, and the handicapped.
2. Class analyses of minorities and women.
3. The legal status of women and the enforcement of laws in relation to women, minorities, and the elderly.
4. Employment policies and practices, including differential incomes, for minorities, women, and the handicapped.
5. Enrollment patterns in institutions of higher education.
6. Mass media representation of minorities, women, the elderly and the handicapped.

By examining the issues implicitly and explicitly treated in the articles in this volume, students can be led to a greater understanding of the problems and potentialities in a pluralistic society.

Each of the vignettes separately, and all taken together, afford teachers a virtually unlimited number of possibilities for affirming cultural pluralism in every classroom. The responsibility for doing so, however, now rests with each teacher — with all of us. Knowing that we have only scratched the surface with our suggestions and implications, we hope that we have nonetheless set the teacher's thoughts into motion.

We urge teachers to view this volume as a basis for continuous learning experiences, and we encourage them to research, discuss, question, and "interact" with these vignettes, with other materials, and with each other. If we, as educators in a pluralistic society, are to affirm diversity, we must not only recognize but also take advantage of the fact that our schools operate not in a vacuum but in a complex socio-cultural context.

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*See also Milton Gold's article, "Pressure Points in Multicultural Education," earlier in this volume.